
D. G. A. 79.

THE

## PRÁKRITA-LAKSHANAM

OIl

## CHANDA'S GRAMMAR



## ANCIENT(ÁRHA) Prákrit

 EDITED) BX
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Part I.
TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND iNDEXES.


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$T O$

# SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K. C. S. I. ETOO, ETO. 

WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

## THIS WORK

## IS DEDICATED

as a TOKEN OF SINCERE respect and gratitude.

## PREFACE.

In the Introductory romarks, I shall fully explain the reasons of the arrangemont obsorved in the following edition. In tho main portion of it, $I$ have adoptod tho text of the MSS. A and D, griving as a rule, in cuse of a difference, the proferenco to the reading of $A$. All the additional matter in the toxt of the MSS. C and D, as woll as what is peculiar to any one or several MSS., has been distributed in the Appendices. This arrangemont, I am aware, has its drawbacks; but on tho whole I have thought it tho best possible in the peculiar circumstances of the caso.

The footnotes immediately under the text contain extracts from the marginal gloss of MS. C, as also the few marginal remarks that occur in MS. B. Below these again are given, at the foot of each page, the various readings of the four MSS. Cndoubted clerical errors have been omitted. With the exception of these, every difference has been noted; in doubtful cases, I bave even admitted what to me seemed a mere clerical error. Considering the important character of Clanda's work and the state of the materials at my command, it seemed to me particulanly desirable to place the reader in possession of the fullest information to form his own judgment on points that may be disputable.

The two indexes of sútras and Prakrit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

The whole work is contemplated to consist of two parts. The second part, containing an English translation and annotations, is nearly ready for the press and will shortly appear.

There only remains to me the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Dr. Rajendra Lála Mitra Rai Bahádur and Paṇdit Ráma Miṣra Șástrí in so readily placing at my service their MSS. of Chanda's Grammar, and the liberality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in providing the necessary funds for the publication of this work.
A. F. R.-H.

Calcutta, October 1880.

## INTRODUCTION *

The Prakrit Grammar the text of which is given in the following pages professes to be the work of Chanḍa. About his person and the time when he lived nothing, so far as I am aware, is known beyond what can be gathered from the work itself. From the mention of Vira or Mahávira, the great apostle of the Jain religion, in the introductory verse, and from the fact that the Grammar treats of an ancient form of what is now commonly called the Jaina Prákrit, it may perhaps be permissible to conclude that he belonged to the Jain community.* That he must have lived in very early times, probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes; assuming, of course, that he was con. temporary with that language.

The Grammar bears the name of Prakrita-Lakshana. It is a curious circumstance, that a grammar, bearing the same name, is ascribed by two old writers, Kedára Bhaţta and Malayagiri, to Pánini, the famous Sanskrit Grank marian. The remark of the former, as quoted by d'Alwis in his Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar (p. xxv), is the following : pdninibhagaván pram Mritalakshanam api vakti samskeritád anyat, " Dloghaksharam cha kutraohid elcám mátrám upaiti" iti ; i. e., "the blessed Pánini also enunciates a Prákrit rule, different from Sanskrit, viz., that a long vowel becomes short." $\dagger$ Compare with this Chanda's rule in sútra II, 3. The passage, however, does notr necessarily imply that Pánini was the author of a Prákrit grammar of that name. The language of Malayagiri, as quoted by Weber, in his Indisohe Studien, vol. X, p. 277, and Indische Streifen, vol. II, p. 325, is mach more explicit. It occurs in his commentary to the well-known Jaina work, the Súryaprajñápti,

[^0]and is as follows: " chattári" iti cha sútre napunsakatvanirdesala prákritan
 "lingam vyabhioháry api" iti; i. e., "as to the form 'chattari' occurring in the sutra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prúlrit; for in Prákrit the gender is changeable, as Pánini has said in his (work called) Prílkritalakshana : 'the gender is changeable also.' "Comparo with this Chanda's rule in satra I, 4. If our Prakpritalakshana is the work referred to by those, two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations. The passage of Kedára Bhaṭta, indeed, I do not think, exaotly professes to givo a quotalion. but rather a paraphrase of the rule which was in his mind. Malayagini's language certainly seems to imply that he quotes a rule. Among all Prákrit grammars, known at present, there is none which contains such a rule. The nearest approach to it in the rule in Hemachandra IV, 445 and Trivikrama III, 4, 69, lingam atantram, with its commentary : apabhroumse lingum atuntram vyabhiehári práyo bhavati. It seems very probable, that Malayagiri misquotes Hemachandra's rule and somehow or other confases the PrakritaLakshana with Hemachandra's work. It may be observed, that to quote the exact rule of the Prákritalakshana, kvachid vyatyayall, would hardly havo suited him, as without an explanation it would not have been intelligible, whereas Hemachandra's rule is so. A confusion of Chanda's and Hemachandra's works will perhaps not appear so unnatural, when it is remembered (as I shall show in the sequel), that in all probability Chanda's work was, as it were, the trame round which Hemacharidra built up his own work. It should also be noted, that while Hemachandra's rule is limited to the Apabhramsa, Malayagiri understands his rule to apply to Prákrit generally. Now Chanda's rule does apply to Prákrit generally. The fact, ihat both Kedára Bhatṭa and Malayagiri ascribe the Prákrita-Lakshana to Pánini; is, of course, of no weight. It merely shows that they had only a traditional aoquaintance with the work. Still its traditional ascription to Pápini is in so far important, as it shows that the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative. This character well agrees with Chanḍa's Prákryitalakshaṇa. There is another curions circirmstance in Malayagiri's Commentary, which I may mention bere, as it seems to bear on the question under notice. Weber (in his Indisehe Studien, vol. X, p. 273) quotes another remark of that writer: bahuvachanam prákritatvód, ukhtam cha " bahwvayane ('yanenta ?) dwvayanam" iti ; i.e.," (the use of) the plural is (acconntable) by Prakrit usage, for it is said that 'the dual (is to be expriessed) by the plural.' "Compare with this Ohanḍa's rule in sútra II, 12, with its commentary.* But the curious fact is that in the marginal

[^1]gloss of MS. C, specimens of which are appended to the text in this editiou, that sútra of Chanḍa is always quoted in nearly the same Prákrit transliteration as in Malayagiri, though all other sútras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, e. g., the footnote to salckisání in II, 1., and the footnote to dvituam in II, 12. I suppose it can hardly be doubtful, but that the writer of the marginal gloss really meant Chanda's sátra by his Irakritt quotation ; and if so, the same Prákrit quotation in Malayugiri must refor to the same sútra (of Chanda). Perhaps the fact shows that Chapda's Grammar was originally written in Pralkrit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jaina Prákrit worlss ; but that a few of his sátras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prákrits form, and were preferentially quoted in that form. Still alter all has been said, the evidence remains of a very slendor kind. Perhaps all that can be safely asserted is, that it is not impossible, that those two writers were speaking of Chaṇda's Prákryita Lakshaṇa.

In preparing the following edition $I$ have had the assistance of four MSS. which $I$ have distinguished as $A, B, C$ and $D$ rospectively.

MSS. A and B are the property of Dr. Rájendralála Mitra of Caleutta, who very kindly plared thein at my service. They are mentioned by Dr. Mitra on p. xix, of the Appendix to Vol. III, Part II, No. IX, of his Notices of Senslcrit MISS. (Calcutta, 1875). They were by him supposed to be only one MS.; but on coming into my hands, I was very agreeably surprised to discover that they really were two distinct and (as a glance at the variac lectiones and appendices will at once show) independent MSS. of the samo work. Both are quite modern copies (bearing date 1875, Samvat 1931). Of the originals, I regret, I have not been able to obtain a sight. Dr. Mitra informs me that they were in the possession of a Pandit in Lucknow, who has since died; but that he has not seen thein himself. It would have been of great importance to have been able to consult the originals. The copies are clearly written, but they abound in errors. Some of these are mere clerical errors which offer no difficulty; others again appear to be mevely the peculiarities of Jain orthography, somowhat exaggerated by being translated into the ordinary Nágarí characters of the North West Provinces. I shall explain these peculiarities further on. Both MSS. A and B are complete, written on paper and consisting of nine small oblong leaves, with nine lines to the page.

MS. C is a very excellent MS., beautifully, carefully and almost faultlessly written. It is on paper and consists of thirteen leaves, with nine lines to the page. It was lent to me by my friend, Pandit Ráma Miṣra Ṣástrí, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Sanskrit College at Benares. It belongs
 (W. India). It was copied by the latter for his own use, which accounts for its
excellent execution. It is said to have been copied from a very old MS., 400 years old; with how much of truth, I am unable to say, my efforts to obtain it being baffled by the usual plea of its owner having died. The MS. is complete; and has the peculiarity of being supplied with a very copious marginal gloss, written in very close lines and extremely small letters on the margin and, here and there, between the lines of the text. This gloss, however, only extends as far as the 27th sútra of the IInd chaptor. Whether this ief owing to the original MS. having had no more of it, or the student, who copied it, failing to complete his transcript;' does not appear.* The marginal gloss is chicfly of use inasmuch as it supplies Sanskrit translations of all Prákrit examples and quotations; it also well illustrates the manner of the native grammarians in applying grammatical rules to the explanations of word-forms. For these reasons I have added a few extracts from it in the footnotes, appended to the text and preceding the critical apparatus. The MS. C bears no date; but, of course, it must be of quite modern origin.

MS. D belongs to myself. It was given to me by my friend Pandit Ráma Miṣra, the same gentloman who procured for me MS. C. It is a very fair MS., though not so good as C. It is clearly and carefully written; but it is not without mistakes, which, however, being obvious clerical errors, $\dagger$ are of no account and, therefore, have generally not been noticed in the critical footnotes. It is on paper and consists of nineteen leaves, with six lines to every page. It is a quite modern copy, of 1876 , which Paṇ̣it Ráma Miṣra caused to be prepared for me from an old MS. in the possession of a Pandit, resident in some village in the State of Alwar. This original MS. also I have been unable to procure, on account of the death in the meantime of its owner !

The orthography of all the four MSS. exhibits the peculiarities of what has been called the Jaina Prákrit. $\ddagger$ MS. C is written in the Jaina
*The very curious error, noted on p. 13 (निष्टति) made mie at first inclined to look upon the gloss as a mere modern addition, possibly made by the student himself. But the fact, that one of its remarks with reference to sútra. I, 13 occurs as part of the text in MS. D, renders this improbathe. In any case, the author of it cannot have been a very learned pandit; though for that matter, the author of the text itself, as contained in $C$, does not show very favourably. See, e. g., the clumsy way in which sutria OD I; $6 \pi$ is drawn.
$\dagger$ Thus गुरुएां for गुरुपां, fिरिएं for गिरौणां, I, है Sanskrit जेषां for येषां in I, 3, etc.
$\ddagger$ They rather seem to be the peculiaritios of the Whestern Indian style of writing generally. I have noticed them in other than Jain writings; e.g., in the MSS. of the Prithirája Rasau. Most Jaina writings are from Western India. On Jaina Prákrit orthography, see Weber Bhagavati, pp. 383-392, E. Müller, Beiträgc zur Grammatik ts Jaina Prákrit, pp. 11, 29, 30, Jacobi, Fallja Sútra, pp. 17-21, Klatt, Dhanapalla's Rishabha

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| 1 | $z$ | 3 | 4 | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\pm$ | $E$ | $4 n$ | 5 | 3 |  | 5 |  |
| () | 7ile | $711 \%$ | (18) | 173. | Sl/. | /171. | jh. |

(1)

| ia. | 17. | 18. | $11^{1}$ | 20. | 21. | $\pm 2$ | 30 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 3 |  |  | $\sqrt{2}$ | $\cdots$ |  |
| $y^{\prime \prime}$ | cheche: | (1) 1. | sth | JJ | . $7 /$ | .77\% | $1 / 1 /$ |


| $\cdots$ | 23 | 20 | 27. | 28 | 29. | \% 80 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | $\sqrt{31}$ |  |  |  |
| . $j \boldsymbol{j}$ | $\ddot{\sim}$ | , jih. | .jih | jih. | , $\mathrm{j} \%$ | - .jjh. |




FACSIMILES OF MSS. LETTERS.

Prákrit style; MS. D also, but not so uniformly. MSS. A and B are written in the ordinary Nágarí of Eastern Hindústán, but they show unmistalseable traces of having been copied from originals written in the Jaina or western style. These orthographic peculiarities (see Plate) may be divided into two classes, graphic and phonetic. To the former belong

1. The symbol No. 1 (in the Plate) for o. In MS. C this is always carefully distinguished from $\mathbb{*}$ u. MS. $D$ tif a few cases confuses them.* But in $A$ and $B$ they are not only perpetually confused, but somotimes even ज (i) or $\begin{gathered}\delta(u r) \text { is written; thus showing that the copyists had no notion of }\end{gathered}$ the meaning of that Jaina symbol.
2. In MS. C $u$ in conjunction with certain consonants has a peculiar shape. "See Nos. 2-7.
3. The two symbols Nos. 8 or 9 for $j$ and No. 10 for $d$ are always carefully distinguished in C; but are much confounded in D. The ordinary Nágarí symbol ड $d$, however, is also occasionally used in D ; in C it is the usual one.
4. The substilute ष for ख, so common in modern writing, never occurs in C and D . In B it is found once; viz., III, 15 षह्हहाः for खक्दा:. On the other hand, MS. A'has once the very unusual substitute ख for ष ; viz. III, 14 पाखाए for पाषाएा.
5. The use of the symbols $\begin{aligned} & \\ & b\end{aligned}$ and व $v$ is very uncertain. Thus $C$ has in juxtaposition besum and vesu (I, 3), behim and vehi (I, 1), bahuí (I, 3) and vahúe ( $\mathrm{I}, 9$ ). MS. D has ribíu and rivumı ( $\mathrm{I}, 3$ ), gávíand gábí (II, 16), \&c. On the whole C follows the Sanskrit use, while D prefers v. MSS. A and ${ }_{2} B$ are no less uncertain; thus A has vuddhi and budddhiu ( $\mathrm{I}, 10$ ), gábue and gávihim (II, 16) ; B has behinto ( $\mathrm{I}, 13$ ), and vehim ( $\mathrm{I}, 7$ ), \&cc. On the whole B prefers v. $\dagger$ As it was necessary to observe some system, I have followed MS. C in being guided by Sanskrit usage.
6. There is also much uncertainty in the use of the symbols स $s$ and IT $s$; though more so in $A$ and $B$, than $C$ and $D$. In $C$ the confusion occurs rarely; e. g., silam ( $I, 30$ ), and commonly Sanskrit sura. In $D$ it is much more frequent; e. g., ṣsṣi for ssasi (I, 22); smasánam for smasánam, sirshah for sirshah. \&c. In A and B it is very common; thus in A and B , sese, hamıse pasuta for sese, hamse, pasutta, (IV, 39) ; in A tísanhamı for tisanham (I, 6). The substitution of $s$ for $s$ is much more common than the reverse.
7. The symbols Nos. 11 or 12 for $k \hbar \hbar$ often occur in D. In A and B

Panchásitáá in J. G. O. S., vol. XXXIII, pp. 447, 448, also Stovonson, Kalpa Sútra, pp. 137-143.

* Once D writes डो for 0 .
$\uparrow$ Curiously enough, when B has b, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words; 0. g., bayamu for vayam (I, 3), beti kim (III 7), barga (III, 17), barna (III, 25).
these symbols are $\mathbb{N}$ os． 13 and 14：＊O alvays has the usual Nagarí symbol कए， which also occurs twice in A．In a few cases A B D write simply $\begin{aligned} & \text { a ；} \mathrm{C} \text { never．}\end{aligned}$

8．The symbol ग्र for $g g$ is very common in the marginal gloss，though not in the text，of O ．Once or twice it occurs in D ．Otherwise the ordinary Nágarí form गJ is used．In the originals of $\mathbf{A}$ and $B$ ，however，it must have boen almost universal．The copyists evidently did not know it ；for they com－
 the correct transcription गn，in aggissa（ $\mathrm{I}, 13$ ）．

9．The symbols，No． 17 for ohohh and No． 18 for tth，are generally distin＊ guished in 0 ；there are only two exceptions，viz．，echchhu for etthu $(f, 11)$ and pattham for pachehham（III，26）．D uses the ordinary Náganí symbol for both chohh and thh；thus pachchham＝Skx．pathyam and pachohho for pattho $=$ Skr．parthah in III，26．A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary
 place of च $\quad$ chohh．On the other hand C and D commonly write No． 17 and䙳 respectively in the place of $\overline{\mathbf{I}} \mathrm{chh}$ ．

10．The symbol of $j j$ is No． 20 or 21 ，correctly transoribed in A and B by 可．

11．The symbols Nos． $22-26$ or Nos． 27 and 28 for $j j h$ are used in O and D．The copyists of $A$ and $B$ ，not understanding the former，variously transoribe it by Nos．29－36．
 C Has always $x_{0}$ Similarly the symbols zoy for didh are commonly used by all four MSS．I may hare add the genexal remarly，that conjunets consist ing of the unaspirate and aspirate of the same class，are treated with great laxity，as regards uriting them；though，doubtlessly，they were always pra－ monnced correctly（according to the rules Ch．III，26．Vr，III，51．H．O．II，90）． Thus hard aspirate conjonots might be written in three ways：either the aspirate alone，or the aspirate doubled，or（the correct form）the aspirate pre－； ceded by its unaspirate．A sonant aspirate conjunct might even be written in four ways ：either the aspirate alone，or the aspirate doubltd，or the aspirate preecded by the hard unaspirate，or（the corvect form）the aspirate preceded by may be found in the four MSS．of Chanda．I have met with every one of them in the MSS．of the Prithiráj Rasau．Thus the symbol No． 37 走 strictly pbo， while Nos． 38 or 39 are $66 \hbar$ ．Similaxly Nos 13 and 14 （in the Prithiráj sष） mate buatle thath while Nos． 11 and 12 are klah．

18：The dymbols $\overline{4}$ ，$\overline{\text { on }}$ ，घ，घ，are often confounded in $A$ and B，showing That the copyists were imperfectly acquainted with the orthography of the

[^2] ब $g h$ for $\bar{a} v v$; thus the former occurs in A सधिय (II, 17.) for संच्रिय, B सरण (III, 9) for साव; the latter in B पर्घतः (III, 9) for पर्ब्वतः. The occasional use of छ or चछ for य्व is peculiar to D ; e. g., कां for कब्बं (III, 2), पुच्रों for पुष्ये (C D III, 15a).
14. The symbol No. 39 is used by $O$ for $66 \%$ and mbh. MS. D has No. 38 ; and A B have Nos. 29, 40 and 41.
15. The mis-spelled symbol En $h_{m}$ occurs very frequently in B and D. In A it is very rare ; in $C$ it never occurs.
16. The symbol f् or fु is very commonly written in A. and B, in the place of an anusvára, at the end of a phrase or sentence (see footnote to $\mathrm{I}, 1$ ); never in C and D . In A the class nasal is not unfrequently written instead of the usụal anusvára, in conjuncts ; e. g., lingañcha ( $\mathrm{I}, 2$ ), hiñcha ( $\mathrm{I}, 17$ ), tumandevo (I, 19), kinte ( $\mathrm{I}, 23$ ), jalanti (I, 12), vambhaná (II, 12), \&c.

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prákrit observable in the MSS. are two:

1. The presence of the dental न in. In MSS. A and B, ब, whether single or conjunct, is always used when standing at the beginning of a word, and almost always when in the middle of a wrord. In MSS. C and D, न is every where cbanged to 0, in accordance with the commoner Prakrit usage (see Vr. II, 42). This is rather a strange circumstance, seeing that the two MSS. C and D otherwise exhibit, in many ways, a more distinetly Jain character than A and B; compare, e. g., their introductory salutation, and their additions in suitra I, 5.*
2. The so-called ya-stuti, i, e., the insertion of an euphonic य् $y$ between two vowels, the latter of which must be a, while the preceding may be any one. This rule, however, is not uniformly observed in the MSS.

The text presented in these four MSs. differs very greatly. The most obvious difference is in extent, as will be seen at once from the relative size of the MSS. and from the list of sútras appended to this edition. The MSSS. may be divided into two classes. The text of $A$ and $B$ is substantially the same, so is that of 0 and D ; but while the former MSS. contain 99 sútras divided into three ohapters, the latter extend to 1.26 and 128 sútras distributed into lour ehapters. The owner of A and B; who however had not examined his MSs, expressed a suspicion that they were fragmentary. $\dagger$ On first receiving them, I was mayself inclined to think, that they contained a mutilated text. But fuather examination soon showed me, not only that A and B contained a complete, but that, in fact, they contained an older and a more original

[^3]$\dagger$ See Procecdings, Asiatic Spciety of Bengal, November 1878.
text than C and D ; that of the latter two MSS. being a much later, rearranged and enlarged, recension of the text of A and B. I shall here deseribe some of the most striking points of evidence : others will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation.

In the first place, as to the originality of the text of A and B. The order of the Sútras $\mathrm{I}, 19,20,21$ in A and B is consistent, while their order I , 19, 21, 20 in C and D is inconsistent and necessitates an unusual interprotation of the term cha "also" in satra I, 20. The word cha "also", used as a grammatical technical term, has a well-known and well-defined meaning. It always refers to the preceding rule and implies that what is mentioned there is also applicable to the rule in which cha occurs. Thus in MS. A and B, suttra I, 19 तुमं सौ सविसक्ती is followed by $\mathrm{I}, 20$ बसि तुए च. The term च in the latter indicates, that the form तुमृं mentioned in the former is also to the understood in the latter. The Revisionists, however, in order to dispose of all sútras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accosative, change the order of the sútras, placing them thus : I, 19. तुमं हौ संविभकौ, I, 21 तुम्हे नसि, I, 20 बकमि तुए च. But when the sutras are thus placed, the term च would imply that çar of the preceding sútra is also to be understood in the last sútra. As this resut would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists ractually insert into the last satra the forms, whioh ought to be indieated by च
 O D, p, 41), so that here a does not refer to a preceding sfitra bat to a part of The sfitra itself in which it occurs! There could hardly be a clearer piece of evidence as to which of the two texts is the original.

Again the omission of the satra III, 10 in 0 and D distorns the originally consistent plan on which the third chapter is drawn in $A$ and $\mathcal{B}$, and consequently necessitates in 0 and D a very inconsistent use of the sibilant स् 8 in thè sátras of that chapter. According to the plan of $A$ and $B$ in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sutras (III, 1-9); the remaining sútras (III, 11-39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants ; the intermediate sutra (III, 10) is intended to indieate this division.* In the first part (III, 1-9), all conjonots are reduced to single consonants, by eliding, in some way or other, all consonants of the conjuict save one. Haying thus simplified the problem, so as to have none but single conisonautry (whether original or resultant) to deal with, Chanda next proceede in the second part (III, 11-39) to enumerate the manifold changes

[^4]that the single consonants (no matter, whether original or resultant) may undergo. Now in the second part Chanda rules that every single wr $s$ or ष $\frac{s}{}$ changes to स $s$ in Prákrit (LII, 18); so that as regards single consonants, स. $s$ represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chança has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of स s. Thus we have sútra III, 14 सकारस्य ख्वर्हा?, illustrated by दश = दच्इ; again sutra III, 39 भागधिकायां रसथेश् लक्री, illustrated by शेष:

 is, द्ए $=$ दस $=$ द्ह, and शेष: $=$ सेसे $=$ शेश.* This procedure, of course, could not be applied to the first part (III, 1-9) which treats of conjunots and which is not affected by sutra III, 18. In that part, $\# 8$ cannot represent the whole sibilant class; for there the three Sanskrit sibilauts, as such, become the subjects of change. In the furst part, therefore, either all three sibilants must be enumerated severally whenever the sibilant class is spoken of or some other short sign for them must be adopted. Chanda elected the latter course, and the sign the selected appears to have been the sibilant $\overline{\text { I } s ; ~ m o s t ~}$ probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (घ, ष, स).
 श्रोतब्यं = सोतब्बं. That is, व $v$ and व $r$ are respectively elided after ₹ $s$, and $\overline{\$} s$; next स $s$ and $\bar{y} s$, having nuw become single consonants, pass into the second part, where $\mp s$ at once comes under the operation of rule III, 18 and turns into स $s$; while स $s$, of course, remains unchanged $\dagger$ I think it will be admitted that in this arrangement Chanda follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sútra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts; and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making stutra III, 18 applicable to the whole fhird chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of स $s$ and स $s$. Consequently they use स. $s$ throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants क्र $s$ and ष $s h$ practically do not exist, having at once changed to स $s$.

[^5]Thus C D read सवलैस्येा ब्यंजनं in sútra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example स्रातवं = सोतब्वं ; that is, they make स $s$ to indicate $\overline{\text { P } ~} s$, because, according to them, श्रेतव्यं changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into स्बोतबं ; whercupon ₹ $r$ is elided by rule III, 2. This process, no doubt, simplifies the original method, by substituting one sign for the sibilant class in the place of two; but it does so at the expense of all symmetry and consistency of the original plan; for with the exception of those two sutras ILIT, 10 and III, 18, all others are still treated as if the original plan of the division into two parts, referring to conjuncts and singles respectively, wero still in force. This inconsistency becomes especially glaring in the case of sútra III, 8 षाट् ट:, which, on the revisionist principle, ought to have been changed to चाट् ट.. For just as in the previous case स्रोतबं becomes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, सोतव्यं, so here स्पषं becomes by the same rule स्सक्टं ; next स $s$ would. be elided. So that, consistently, स $s$ should here have been written to represent ष $s h$. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sútra षाट् ट: is correct ; it could not have been spelled खाए् ट:, because the sibilant $\begin{aligned} & \text { s } h \\ & \text { is the }\end{aligned}$ only (conjunct) sibilant to which the rale applies. Bricfly, the matter as between Cbanḍa and his Revisionists stands thus: Chanḍa uses का $s$ to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever the rule is applicable to all the sibilants severally ; hence when the rule applies to only one member of the sibilant class, he cannot use घ् $^{s} s$, but must use that member itself. On the other hand, he uses स $\delta$ to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever ex hypothesi (that is, by silent reference to rule III, 18) no longer any other sibilant, but $\mathcal{F}$, is supposed to exist. This terminology, however, presupposes and necessitates the division of the chapter into two parts, which I hare alrady explained. The Revisionists abolish the division and accept only the laster laalĭ of Chayda's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than स) as an indicatory in any sútra; for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but $\boldsymbol{*} s$, is supposed to exist. The matter is complicated; but I trust I have succeeded in making it sufficiently clear. Perhaps a complete understanding of the point at issue will not be attainable, unless by practically working through the examples, as I have done, by the light of either of the rival theories. Unfortunately the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty of the spelling in the M.SS. A and B. How little reliance can be placed on their siclling may be sen from the fact, that MS. B spells लमौ for लक्री in sútra III: 30. I must restrve the diecussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored m' $s$ in all sútras, in which the original plan of Chanda requires it; i. e., in III, 2. 4. 6. 23.*

[^6]Next, as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS., the wording of sútra III, 34 in MSS. A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prakrit laqguage, than the wording of the same sútra in MSS. C and D ; and this circumstance is confirmed by sútras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sutra IIT, 34 in $\mathbf{A}$ and $B$, but not with that in C and D . It is further confirmed by the omission in A and B of all reference to the (so-called) Șaurasení dialect, that is, by the omission of sútra III, $39 a$ which refers to one of the most incisive differences botween that dialect and the (so-called) Máháráshtrí ; a difference which, at the period of the formulation of the rules as they are in the text of A B, evidently did not yet exist," while it was fully developed at the time when the text of CD was settled. A comparison of sútra III, 34 with IMI, 12 and of III, 13 with III, 11 shows that at that period when the text delivered in A B was written, hard medial single unaspirate consonants were not elided, nor hard medial single aspirates reduced to $\bar{\xi} h$ (with the exception of $क \bar{\pi}$ and ख $k h$ ), though occasionally the former were changed into the corresponding soft consonants. On the other hand a comparison of those sútras, as they stand in A. B, with the same sútras, as C D have them, shows that at the period, when the text contained in C D was written, all unaspirate consonants (exc. ड $d$ and e $t$ ), whether surd or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether surd or sonant (exc. palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to $\bar{\xi} h$. I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sútras $I I, 1 a, 1 b, 1 c$, the texts of C and D are nearly identical. There is a much greater difference between the texts of A and B. The latter (MS. B) contains some additional matter, one part of which is peculiar to B , while the other it has in common with O and D . On the other hand, A has nothing in common with CD D , which does not also occur in B. Though, therefore; the texts of A and B are sub. stantially the same, yet $\mathbf{B}$ occupies a slightly intermediate position between A on the one hand, and CD on the other. The general result, thus, is that the original grammar of Chanḍa presentis a very old phase of the Prálrit.language, and that the MS. A contains that grammar in its oldest and most genuine form; but that this grammar has undergone at vaxious periods, more (in C D) or less (in B) thorough-going revisions.

I, 1, 7.) ; the latter has कि (S. C. I, 1. 7). Chanḍa's sanjiní क् ṣa is perhaps somewhat anomalous; for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add $w$ or varga to a consonant, in order to form à sanjüu (e. $g$., कु or कवगे for the guttural class). This may have been one of the reasons for the alteration of the Rovisionists. But it is possible that Chanda's sign may really have been ఖֻ or Fि; in sútra III, 4, MS. B reads सो, which may bo an error for सौ (सौ); and शौ would be the locative of \$ or fि; see the footnote to translation of sútra III, 4.

If that had been all, there would not have been much reason for complaint. Unfortunately, the Revisionists have not been content with merely revising or rather recasting and enlarging Chanda's grummar; but while leaving the framework, as it were, of the rules of Chanda untouchod, they have attempted to adjust his grammar to a later phase of tho language, by altoring the spelling of the Prákrit words and forms, occurring in it, so as to bring them in agreement with that later plase. The result in some cases is vory ludicrous. Thus according to Chanda's rule III, 11 a the changes to $\varepsilon$ dh; by way of illustration the Rorisionists make नाच: nathay to chango into नाहैं autho. Again according to the rule III, 34 च $c h$, त $t$, प $p$ are not elided; by way of
 neuram for नूपुरं nupuram, 㓩 direct defiance of rule III, 12. The ignoring of these three rules, indeed, has been consistently carried out throughout the grammar.* It was impossible to print the text together with all these inconsistencies; and it became necessary to restore the original text, as far as it could be done with safety.

In reference to some of the most important cases of restoration, I shall now explain the reasons that have guided me. In the case of others of minor importance my reasons for preferring a particular spelling will be found in the footnotes to the English translation. One important case of restoration regarding the sibilants has been already explained (see pp. IX, X). With regard to these restorations, though I conceive that they could not be avoided in a scientific edition of the text and though I have given, of course, what after mature consideration of all relevant circumstances, appeared to me to have the greatest probability, I can well foresee, and there is undoubtedly room for, difference of opinion. But considering the difficultios of the case, perhaps I may venture to hope an indulgent considevation of the results such as they are. A more generally satisfactory settlement of the text must wait for more and better MSS., especially of the older text, or for a more competent editor than myself. $\dagger$

* Another instance is sútra $I T, 10$, according to which the nominative singular of in bases should end with a short $i$; but one of the examples given is budddhe for buddhi. Similarly according to sútras $I, 3$ and $I, 7$ the instrumental plaral in Prákrit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the excoption of Sansk. blis becoming Prák, hi ; the examples, however, arie aggihi, mahuihi for aggihi, mahuhi = Skr. agnibhih, madhubhih. See the further remarks in the Sketch of Chnnda's Grummar.
t As to the possibility or probebetty of such revisions of old texts by lator hands, I may quote Jacobi's remarks in his Intiuiaction to his oxcollont odition of the Kalpa sútra (p. 4), "it has been culuidencod as a groof of the priority of Buddhism that Pali
 nothing. For the form of the Jaina suitras was fixed only ono thonsand years after Mahávira's death. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the language of the sútras underwent great alterations in consequence of the natural tondency
(1). With regard to my restoration in the text of the surd consonants, my reasons were briefly the following :-

First.-There is (as already noticed on p. xi) the direct evidence of sútras III, 11 and 34 , which, admitting only the elision of $k$ and reduction of $k h$, by implication enjoins the retention of the other surds.

Second.-The most authentic information that we have as to the state of the oldest Indian Vernacular, in rock-inscriptions, se., shows that, as a rule, the surd consonants were retained, while the sonants might be elided; precisely what Chanda's rules III, 12, 34 indicate.

Third.- It will be seen from the critical footnotes to the text, that the MSS. A and B in a few cases still retain an original तt. Thus in II, $26 \wedge \mathrm{~B}$ read मे द्रतं । ल्यया कृतँ ॥ Originally, I think, the example must have stood मे कतं। ब्वया क्cतं॥ The copyist, not rocognising कतं as a Prákrit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into क्तत. The Revisionists of $C$ and $D$, on the other hand, recognising the old Prákrit form कतं, but objecting to it on the score of obsoleteness, changed it into the correct later Prákrit form कयं. This appears much more probable than to assume that the scribe of $A$ and $B$, finding कदं (or even क्यं) in his original, changed it into हतं. On this view, it must be admitted that the Revisionists of $A$ and $B$, while carrying through their modernisation of the spelling of their text, occasionally overlooked a word and left its standing in its old dress. That, however, is nothing to be wondored at. To us it is a cause of congratulation, as it helps restoring the original text.

Fourth.-Even as regards the Revisionists of O and D ; it is easier to understand their modernizing, e. g., कतं into कघं, than कद्दं ; for though कतं could not possibly have been later Prákrit, कदं might have been so. If they had found कदं or ज्चन्छदि (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prakrit is not altogether unknown; but if they found कतं or घच्छीत, they could not do otherwise but change it into कचं and ब्चद्क्र्, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day.

Fifth.-Chanda's rules merely state facts as facts, without defining the range of their applicability; some of the rules are compalsory, others are not so ; but whether they are or are not so, does not appear on the face of the rule. Thus rule III, 16, although it might appear so at first sight, is undoubtedly not compulsory; it enjoins the cliange of न $n$ to $\begin{aligned} & \text { एा } n \\ & \text {; but as a matter of fact, }\end{aligned}$ an initial ब $n$ never changes to ए $n$, and oven a medial न $n$ does so only in comparatively exceptional cases. The rule, in fact, states an exceptional fact; but as it is a fact, the fact is duly noticed, though no intimation is given as to

[^7]its frequency, whether it is constant or only occasional.* The case of rule III, 12 is similar; it states several facts, some of which are exceptional, while others are nearly constant. Thus, in the face of rule III, 34 , there can be little question, but that the change of क $/ c$ to II $g$ was a comparatively exceptional occurrence; on the other hand the change of $\epsilon t$ to उ $d$ must have been comparatively constant. It follows, therefore, that, as to the change of $\boldsymbol{\sigma} t$ to द $d$, and of $\mathbf{\varphi} p$ to a $v$, the rule docs not necessarily imply invariability. What the amount of its frequency may have been, must be judged from other considerations; and for the reasons given under Nos. $2,3,4$, it seems to me, that the change must have been a comparatively exceptional one, $i$. $c$., as a rule न $t$ and प $p$ were retained. On the other hand, the retention of का $/ c$ must have been comparatively exceptional; as a rule it was elided or, less frequently, changed to ग $g$.

Sixth.-In sútra II, 22 there is an undesigned coinçidence which very strikingly proves the truth of my restorations. Among the substitutes of vat "like", there is also mentioned jahá. Now jahá is clearly the same as the Sanskrit yathá. If at the time of the language of the Grammar, it had been the universal practice to reduce a surd aspirated घ $t h$ to $\bar{\eta} h$, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word jahá for particular notice. But if $\boldsymbol{v}$ th at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to घ $d h$, then jahd would at once become an exceptional form requiring particular notice. The Revisionists when remodelling Chanda's grammar and reducing (according to the practice of their day) every th to $h$, failed to notice the inconsistency of permitting jahd to remain in the sutra. Not so Hemachandra; he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sátra into his grammar (see H. C. II, 182), omitted jahá. $\dagger$

There is, in sútra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chanḍa the surd unaspirates were not usually subject to elision. In that sutra it is ruled that the Sanskrit iti "thus". changes in Prákrit to iya. If it had been usual at that time to elide all surd unaspirates, there would have been no need to say anything more in the sútra than that the
*The rule also enjoins the change of the dental consonants into palatal or cerebral. As it occurs in that part of the grammar which applics to single consonants, the rule as it - stands would seem to apply to all singlo dental consonants. As a matter of fact, however, it has a very limited range and chiefly applies to such siogle dental consonants as had originally formed part of a particular compound. This circumstance is, no doubt, connected with the peculiar plan on which Chanda's Grammar is drawn, and whioh has been brielly noticed on p . VIII and will be fully explained afterwards in the Analysis of hieg Grammar.
$\dagger$ This is one of the indications (of which some more will be noticed afterwards) of the posteriority of Hemachandra to Chanda and his Revisionists,
final $i$ of $i t i$ changes to $a$. Now this is precisely what Hemachandra in his grammar (see H. C. I, 91) does. In his time, it had long since become usual to elide a medial त $t$; accordingly, seeing that Chanda's sutra stated more than was needed, he reformulated it so as to omit what was superfluous. Chaṇà's Revisionists, however, were again, more suo, not so wise as Hemaichandra, but allowed Chaṇda's sútra to keep its original wording.

It is much to be regretted that the Revisionists did not always act with such inconsistency. But though in a few cases, and those not unimportant ones, it can hardly be doubted but that they did venture to tamper with the sútras,* yet happily as a rule they contented themselves with the less objectionable process of only remodelling the commentary.

Seventh.-Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that Chanda spelled his words with the hard unaspirates. In later times, as is known from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, hard dentals (न) were, as a rule, elided, while hard labials (प) were generally softened (च). Accordingly one would expect the revision of Chanda, made by the authors of $C$ and $D$, to conform to the later practice. On examination, it will be found that that is so. I have counted all cases of hard unaspirates in that portion of Chanda which is common to all four MSS. There are altogether 50 instances of the hard dental (ন) ; among these, CD elide it 47 times, soften it twice and retain it once. $\dagger$ Of the hard labial (प) there are 10 cases; among these C D elide it only once, in the remaining nine cases they sotten it (to व). $\ddagger$ But further, having thus changed the original spelling, the Revisionists could not help observing that the result was inconsistent with the express rule III, 34 of the grammar they were revising. Hence to allow of their eliding the hard dentals (and the hard unaspirates

* These are, strictly speaking, only sútras $\mathrm{I}, 16$, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS, agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sútras, my rostored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS. ; thus, of B in sutra $I$, 21 and in IIr, 23, of A B in $\mathrm{I}, 19,20, \mathrm{II}, 14,19,21, \mathrm{III}, 2,13,22,34$.
+ The softenings are, कदं in the special sútra III, 11 and छवद्वि in tho Mágadhí sútra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the satra. The retention is in पलातं in sutira $I$, 23. A retains $\boldsymbol{\top}$ in 4 cases ( $I, 23$, II, 2, 26. III, 39), and B in 5 cases (I, 23. II, 26. III, 9. 23. 39). These retentions are doubtlessly mere oversights.
$\ddagger$ The solitary case of elision is नेडरं, which I am inclined to think a very old exceptional case; perhaps already existing in Chanda's time. It ís however worth noting, that C spells नेवुरं in II, 4 (confirmed by the marginal gloss) ; though it has बेउरं in III, 34. In one case (पुनर् स्यपि II, 10) D retains प; so also A once (क्षं I, 17) ; those are probably more oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains ख (III, 3), and A B once retain उ (I, 3 पौठं ). [N. B.-पुएारवि in the Text, p. 16, is a misprint for पुएरपप.]
generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that suttra (compare the terms of sútra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sútra in the Text) ; and $\mathrm{d}_{2}$ on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (प) notwithstanding the revised terms of sútra III, 34, they further altered the terms of sútra III, 22 (from यचशेर् वत्यासः to पवयेश् ब्य०) and inserted an altogether new sútra (see Appendix OD, p. 50). Through those changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sutras. It should bo noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the load of the Revisionists; compare H. C. I, 177, 281, and Yr. II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the trentment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of sutra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sutra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sútra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting $k \hbar$ in sútra III, 13 and subsuming it under sútra III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silont reference to III, 13, further change to $\pi$; thus, in the examples of sutra III, 11, they change both e $t h$ and ख $\bar{l} \pi$ to $\bar{E} h$. On this thoory, of course, the special mention of $k \%$ in sutra III, 13 is superfluous; accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this oxpredient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemacbandra, therefore, hare discarded it; they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of sutra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sútra III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order ; compare H. O. I, 187, 236 and Vr. II, 27, 26.
(2). Another restoration is the form tumbhe in sutra I, 21. Here C and D read tumhe jasi. That tumie cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3 , I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the sútra. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads tubbhe and $B$ reads tumbhe; but in suttra $I, 22$ they have the same reading respectively, A tubbhe and B tumbhe. Chanḍa cannot possibly have written the same word in both sútras; that would be contrary to the whole genius of sútraiwriting ; if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but one sútra : tubbhe (or tumbhe) jassasoh. In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS. A and B the conjuncts mbh, bbh and jigh are perpetually confuscd; the two symbols 牱 or 群 being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells सिख्बा for

[^8]सिम्भा III, 2, जिभ्वा for जिब्भा III, 1, वस्बो for वड्मो III, 20; सभ्षावं for सन्साप III, 8, सम्म for सэक्万 I, 30. There is a simple explanation for this confusion. In the Jaina Prákrit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them.* There can be very little doubt, that the MSS. A and B were copied from an original MS. written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sutras I, 21, and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Náganí symbol. Since however the two sútras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols. The question is, which were they, from among the three. As to sútra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy; it must have contained the symbol for bbh. For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sutra $\mathrm{I}, 22$ (and also in 3 where the word re-occurs). On this point $C$ and $D$ may be trusted; the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters; the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person woll acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing; and both $O$ and $D$ never confound $*$ the symbol for $b b h$ with those for $j j h$ or $m b h$. The case is more complicated as to sútra I, 21. Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have an different reading. Yet indirectly their reading tumhe declares for tumble having been the original one. For it is easier to conceive that tumbhe has been modified into tumhe than that tujjhe should have done so. Even at the present day $m h$ and $m b h$ constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars. In Hindi, e.g., thámhai" "he supports" may be variously spelled thambhai. For these reasons I have adopted the spelling: tumbhe in I, 21, and tubbhe in I, 22.
(3). For some important restoratiens in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in $i$ and $u$, in the Sketch of Chaṇda's Grammar.

The subject of the restorations in Chanda's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar. If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chanḍa are correct, it would follow that his Prákrit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Páli. This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chanda's grammar. Here it will suffice to point out, that Chanḍa's Prákrit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Páli. It agrees

[^9]with Pali, in retaining, as a rule, the surd consonants, aspirate and unaspirate; but it differs from Páli in eliding, as a rule, the sonant unaspirates and reducing to $h$ the sonant aspirates; the surd gutturals being treated in both languages respectively after the analogy of the sonants. Still, if the MSS. may be trusted, there is one very striking instance in which Chanda's Prákrit represents an older phonctic stage than even Páli. This is the accusative singular of feminine nouns in $\alpha$, and $u$, and of the first and second personal pronouns. Here Chanḍa's Prákrit agrees with Sanskrition preserving the long vowd (sea I, 3), whilo Páli as woll as tho lator Prákrit shorten it; e. g., Skr. and Cl. guñáam, but Pá, and Pr. gañgam; Skr. nadím, Ch. naím, but Pá. nadim, Pr. naïm; Skr. mám " me", Ch. mám, but Pá, mam, Pr. main. Both Vararuchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prakrit (see Vr. V, 21. II. C. III, 36) ; so also Kachchayana fo the Páli (see Kach. II, 1, 33, p. 49), while there is no trace of any such rule in Chanda; a fact which strongly makes for the correctness of the forms given in $\mathrm{I}, 3$. .

It may now be asked, what language this old Prákrit of Chaṇ̣a may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the Arsham of IImachandra (H. C. I, 2. IV, 287). By "arsha" Hemachandra understands tho language, spoken (as he says) by the Rishist, or (as he says in IV, 287) the old langnage. With regard to this Arsha Prákrit Homachandra expressly states in his rule I, 3, that it cannot be brought under strict rulest + , and that all its rules are permissive only, not compulsory§. This exactly agrees with what I have had already occasion to point out (see p. XIII), that Chanda's rules are only permissive ; i.e., they merely state facts without defining their constancy or variability; they may or may not be acted upon according to circumstances which must be ascertained from other sources than the rule itself. Again after giving in IV, 287 the ordinary Mágadhí Prákrit rule, that the nominative singular of $a$-bases ends in $e$, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old (poránam) or ársha
*The rule Kach. II, 1, 33 docs not apply to fem. nouns in $\dot{d}$; those are provided for by rule II, 1, 32. Now Chanda's sútra II, 1 corresponds to Kach. II, 1, 32, and it might be supposed that Ch. II, I would similarly necessitate the shortening of $\dot{a}$. That was evidently the opinion of the Revisionists of C D, who write gangaum and tam, but nalim. But it is vory improbable that in Chanda's Prakrit i should have remained long, while á was shortened. Either all three $(\dot{a},\{, z, z)$ were shortened or none was shortened. Now that $\ell$ and $u$ wore not shortened, is admillod even by the Revisionists. The fact is, Oh. II, 1 is formulated so as to allow the vory forms gaingóm, toám; for these are due to sandhi (gangá $+a m, t v a+a m$ ).
$\dagger$ Rshánám idam árskam.
$\ddagger$ H. O. I, 3. arshann preikritam bahulam bhavati.
§ H. C. I, 3. árshe hi sayve vidhayo vikalyyante.

Prákrit, in common with the Arddhamágadhí Prákrit which it follows, agrees with the Mágadhí in regard to the termination of the nominative singular, but not in any other respect. Then he goes on to quote, as an example of the A'rddhamágadhí, the phrase Rayare ágachelhai "which of the two has come." The porána or ársha form of it would be, Katare ágrechchhati.* Now this is the very example, which is given in Chaṇla's grammar, to illustrate his rule II, 10 , that the nom. sing. may ond in e. It would thus appear from Hemachandra's statemont, that by the term ársha he understands that ancient (porána) form of the Prakrit language which included what in his day was called the Árddhamágadhí, and which, while agreeing with the Mágradhí as regards the termination $e$ of the nom. sing., but differing from it with regard to the important changes of $r$ to $l$ and $s$ to $s$ (H. C. 4, 288) and some other minor points peculiar to Mágadhí, was in all other respects identical with the so-called Máháráshtrí. Or to put it in another way: Árddhamágadhí is the same as Máháráshțrí in all respects, except the nom. sing. in e, which peculiarity it shares with the Mágadhí; on the other hand Mágadhí is identical with Arddhamágadhí in all respects, except the important changes of $r$ to $l$ and $s$ to $s$ (omitting minor points) which are peculiar: to the former. If we now substitute the short name Arsha in the place of Árddhamágadhi plus Máháráshṭrí (of which jointly the A'rsha is simply the ancient form), we have an exact statement of the facts as represented in Chanḍa's Grammar. He speaks of four Prákrits, viz., the Prákrit, the Mágadhí, the Paíşachí and the Apabhramsa. He omits all mention of the so-called Máháráshțrí and Șaurasení ; further his rules on the Prákrit substantially contain everything, commonly ascribed to the Máháráshṭrí Prálkrit, with the addition however of the nom. sing. in e; while he makes his Mágadbí to differ from his Prakrit with regard to the changes of $r$ to $l$ and $s$ to $s$. It thus seems to me very clear, that the Prákrit of Chanḍa is the ársha or ancient (porána) form of the Árddhamágadhí, Máháráshṭrí and Şaurasení. $\dagger$

[^10]It would at the same time seem to be proved by Chanḍa's Grammar, that at that early period, the later division into Árddhamágadhí, Maháráshtrí nnd Sauraseni probably did not yet exist; but that these three later subdivisions originally formed but one great language, which was looked npon as the (standard) Prákrit. By the side of this great or standard Prákrit, however, there existed two other Prálsits of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard Prúkrit, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser Prákrits were the Magradhí and the Apabhramsa. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of $\boldsymbol{r}$ and $s$ to $l$ and $s$ respectively; that of the latter was the retention of $r$ as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the Prakrits in Chanda's time is very clearly shown by his Grammar (comp. III, 37, 39). Tho question is, is it possible to fix historically the time when that was tho case. I believe we have in the language of the famous Rock-inscriptions of Aspoka the means of approximately fixing the date. I cannot do better than quote on this subject the remarks of General A. Cunningham in his Corpus Insoriptionum Indicarum, vol. I, p. 43.* "The Inscriptions of Assoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B. C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was essentially the same $\dagger$ throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya, from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some marked points of ditference, which show that there were at least throe distinct varieties of Pali (or Prákrit) in the time of Asoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the Panjabí or northwestern dialect, the Ujjení or middle dialect, and the Mágadhí or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the Panjábí or the dialect of NorthWestern India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined $r$ "; that of the Mágadhí or the eastern dialect is "the entire want of the letter $r$, for which $l$ is uniformly substituted." (Corp. I. I. pp. 43, 44.) If we substitute Apabhramsa for General Cunningham's Panjábí, we have almost the very words of Chanda's Grammar. It would be, however, going too far, I think, to asoribe that Grammar to the third century B. C. Probably it was com-
fact, that certain forms which are expressly noted by Hemachandra as peculiar to the Argha, are given as ordinary forms by Chanda; e. g., Eațt II, 19, cf, H. O. II, 146; suhumam or suhthmam III, 30, of. H. C. II, 101, 113, etc.

* See, however, Lassen's similar remarks in his Indian Antiquities, vol. II, p. 221 (quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. II, pp. 109, 132).

[^11]
posed at a somewhat later time; for the elision of the sonant unaspirates and the reduction to $h$ of the sonant aspirates appear to have been a much more generally prevailing practice in the language of the time of Chanḍa, than in that of the time of Asoka, as exhibited in his Rock-inscriptions.*

As to the Paişáchí, mentioned by Chaṇda in III, 38 , it is provided for by the term "at least" in the above quoted extract from General Cunning. ham's work. My view of the Paisáchí, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prakrit, as pronounced or mather mis-pronounced by the aboriginal population.

An attempt may now be made, with the help of the known localities of the Inscriptions, to approximately determine the boundaries of the areas, respectively occupied by the Prákrit languages, named by Chanda. One of the principal peculiarities of the Mágadhí or Eastern Prákrit, mentioned by Chanda, is the substitution of $l$ for $r . \dagger$. This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Mirat, Lauriya, Sahasarám, Barábar, Rámagaṛh, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (see Map). $\ddagger$ At Bairát, one inscription shows it, the other does not; and the same is the case at Allahábád. If, therefore, a line be drawn from Khalsi, southward to Bairát, thence eastward to Allahábád and again southward by Rámagaṛ to Jaugaḍa, that line will be the approximate boundary between the Eastern or Mágadhí, and the Western or Chanda's Standard Prakrit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India, and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prakrit, on the other hand, occupies the south-western half of Central India, the whole of Western India and an indefinite part of Southern India, probably down to the southern limits of the Maháráshṭra, Andhra and Kalinge kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhramsa Prákrit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Shábbázgaṛhí Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chanḍa to that Prakrit, viz. the retention of the subjoined $r$. Further Chanda mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prákrit, the nominative singular sometimes ends with an $e$, sometimes witl an 0 . Now the Inscriptions at Sanchi and Rúpanáth show the termination $e$, while

[^12]those of Girnár, Deotek and Khandagiri have o. Thus a line drawn from Bairát, in a south-easterly direction towards Deotek and thence eastward to the Mágadbí area, will approximately divide the e-area of the Western Prákrit from its o-area. The former of these two areas may be described as that of, what was afterwarde called, the A'rddhamágadhí Prálrit, because this Prákrit possesses the termination $e$ in common with the Mágradhí. The other subdivisional area will, then, be that of, what in later times come to be called, the Máháráshṭrí and Saurasení Prákrits. The Paíṣáchí must have been current in the southern half of Contral India and in the wholo of Southern India, in the wild regions to the north and south of the Vindhya range of mountains.

Another chronological question, on which the foregoing investigations throw some light, is that of the relative age of Chanda and his Revisionists with regard to the two other well-known Prákrit Grammarians, Vararuchi and Hemachandra. As regards the latter, I have already (p. xiv) incidentally shown grounds for believing that he must have been acquainted with Chanda's Grammar, in the recension of the Revisionists. Indeed, as to Chanda's Grammar generally, that is almost capable of demonstration. In his sútra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns idlam, tad, etad assume the form se in the genitive singular and the form sim in the genitive plural; but he adds that "another Grammarian allows the form se also in the genitive plural of the two pronouns idam and tad"." The singular number "another Grammarian" is noteworthy. It cannot refer to Vararuchi ; because the latter (VII, 11, 12) agrees with Hemachandra in the distribution of the forms se and sim to the singular and plurew respectively; and moreover Vararuchi allows those forms only to the pronoun tad. On the other hand, Hemachandra's remark exactly agrees with Chandia's statement in his sútra $I, 17$, that "the two pronouns tad and $i d d a m$ assume the form se in the genitive of both the singular and plural". $\dagger$. The coincidence is too striking to be merely accidental. Of course, this would leave it still an open question, whether or not Hemachandra is prior to the Revisionists of Chanḍa. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that the latter must be placed earlier than Hemachandra. It is true, that most of the additional matter C C and D, is also found in Hemachandra's Grammar, in some cases expressed in the very same words. But the manner of its arrangement and wording seem clearly to show, that it is oxiginal in C D, and that Hemachandra in writing his own grammar drew on the text of $\mathcal{C} D$ rather than that the latter rearranged and modified Hemachandra's rules. Thus the wording of some rules in CD is very inaccurate, as compared with the corresponding rule in

[^13]Hemachändra (compare, e. g., Ch. II, $6 a$ with H. C. III, 14, 24). Some old Prákrit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13a, 13b) are subsumed by Hemachandra under another rule (H. C. III, 137).* Many peculiar forms, mentioned by OD as belonging to the ordinary Prákrit, are referred by Hemachandra to the Apabhramşa dialect (compare, e. g., Ch. II, $27 l$ with H. C. IV, 444). All this is hardly likely to have been done by any one working with Hemachandra's grammar before his eyes; whereas it is natural that Hemachandra, haring before him the text of CD and noticing its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, should have set about remodelling and rearranging it. $\dagger$ The only evidence of any moment, which seems to make for the priority of Hemachandra is the sútra $I, 16$, where the Revisionists have elided the $d$, while Hemachandra in his prresponding satra III, 8 still preserves it. But the evidence on the other side seems to me much stronger, and I think it, therefore, more probable, that the text of $O$ and $D$, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemachandra. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS. D, with its peculiar additions of sútras $\mathrm{II}, \mathbf{I a}, \mathbf{1 b}, 10$, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding' sútras in Hemachandra are I, 5, 6, 8. Two of them, indeed, viz', I, 6 and $I, 8$, are, word for word, the same as Ch. II, 1a and I, 1b. But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed. Sútra II, $1 b$ in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 8 , while II, 10 in MS. D corresponds to H. O. I, 6. That Hemachandra's order is the correct one follows from the fact, that the negative particle na " not", which must be understood in sútra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sútra-works, supplied from the preceding sútra I, 6. On the other hand in MS. D, the sútra II, $1 b$, as it is not preceded by any sutra containing: the negative particle, remains simply unintelligible, unless, contrary to the well-established practice, the negative particle is supplied from the succeeding

* It may be noted that the omission of all mention of these old Prákrit forms in the text of the MS. A B makes for the antiquity of the latter. For it shows that in their time these forms were not "old" or obsolete, but fresh and living, and called for no special remark.
$\dagger$ Many other cridences for the priority of C and D with regard to Hemachandra will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation. I will mention hore only one. Supposing that Hemachandra knew the text of $C$ and $D$, he could not help noticing the discrepancy between its sûtras III, 34 and III, 12. What more natural than to accept sútra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prákrit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sútra III, 12 under it as an exception? Now this is, what Hemachandra actually has done;"(see H. C. I, 177 and compare the examplos). This, at all events, is a much more probable explanation of tho circumstances, than to suppose the reverso to have taten place, See also the footnote on p. xiv.
sútra. This appears to me to be conclusive as to the priority of Hemachandra. It might be thought, at first sight, that the fact, that Hemachandra's sútria IV, 353 is found in MS. C, but not in MS. D, goes to prove similarly that the text of C also is later than Hemachandra. But I think it exceedingly probable that the omission of that sutra in $D$ is quite accidental, perhaps even a more error of the writer of my copy. For omitting from D the sútras II, $1 a, 1 b, 1 c$ which are undoubtedly drawn from Hemachandra I, $5,6,8, \mathrm{MS}$. Dhas only one sútra less than MS. C, and as the text of the two is otherwise nearly identical, it is more than probable that statra I, 11a ought to be supplied in D.* As regards the relative age of Vararuchi and Chanda, the indications seem sufficiently marked to attempt a decision. The treatment of the ablative suffixes $d o$ and $d r$ in $V r, V, 6$ as comred with their treatinent by the Revisionists in I, 16, makes it certain, that Vararuohi is carlier than the Revisionists, who possibly may have been guided by his grammar in making their revisions of Chanda. The strange circumstance that the Revisionists, though evidently men of the Jain community, yet, contrary to the practice of Jaina Prákrit, changed every dental $n$ to cerobral $n$, seems to be strongly confirmatory of an influence on them by the absolute rule (II, 42) of Vararuchi's grammar. Hemachandra's rules ( $1,228,229$ ), undecided as they are, could not have influenced them. (See remarks on p. xxv). On the other hand the terms of Vr. II, 2 as compared with those of Ch. III, 34 in MSS. A and B, would seem to make it equally certain, that Vararuchi was later than Chanc̣a. But as to whother he was acquainted with Chaṇda's work, thore is too little evidence to form an opinion. On the whole, I should think it improbable.


## A SKETOH OF CEANDA'S GRAMMAR,

## Compared wimi mhose of Vararuohi and Hemaohandra.

## 1, Vowels.

The vowel system does not materially differ from that of the ordinary Prákrit. But many of the peculiarities of the latter do not yet show themselves in the earlier Prákrit of Chanḍa.

In common with the later, the old Prákrit does not possess the following Sanskrit vowels; $\mathrm{rl}^{i}$ (II, 5), ai (II, 6), aut (II, 8) and the protracted (pluta, II, 14). Nothing is said regarding rí, lri, lri, but they seem to be included in the term rearnasya (II, 5).

[^14]Instead of $r i$, either the syllable $r i$ or any other vowel ( $a, i, u, e, o$ ) may be used, according to circumstances (II, 5).

Instead of $a i$ sither $a \ddot{z}$ or $e$, and instead of $a z$ cither aï or $o$, may be used, according to circumstances (II, 6-9) : but not $i$, $z^{\text {and }} u$, as in later Prákrit.

With regard to the changes of thoso vowels which the old Prákrit possesses, there are the following two broad laws:

1. A long vowel ( $\left(u, i, u_{i}\right)$ precoding a conjunct consonant is shortened $(a, i, u)$, II, 3. Hemachandra's rule, H. C. I, 84, corresponds to this; Vararuchi has no corresponding rule, see Cowell, p. 185.
2. The final vowel of the former part of a compound word is droppedt, if the initial vowel of the latter part is followell by a conjunct consonant (II, 2) ; e. g., deva + indra would in Sanskrit be devendra, but in the A'rsha the final $a$ of deva is elided, hence the compound is devinda.* There is nothing corresponding to this rule in either Vararuchi or Hemachandra; they apparently did not acknowledge it. But evidences of the change to which the rule refers are by no means uncommon, even in the later Jaina Prákrit; thus in the Bhagavatí occur appusue $=$ Skr. alpotsukah, paduppanna $=$ Skr. prati-utpanna, sattuttaram $=$ Skr. saptottaram, (see Weber's edition, pp. 386, 406, 408, 427).

On the other hand the later Prákrit changes of $i$ to short $e$ and of $u$ to short $o$ (V. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116) are unknown to Chanda. „Thus we have ginhati in Ch. ILI, 23 for genhaï in H. C. IV, 209.

For the rest, vowels are liable to a great variety of interchanges, and that, whether they occur in a single word (II, 4) or when they occur at the point of junction in a compound word or even at the point of contact of two words in a sentence (II, 1). It is this miscellany of changes, summed up by Chanda in two short rules ( $I, 1,4$ ), the separate enumeration of which in distinct rules has given rise to the great expansion of the chapter on vowels in the Grammars of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. It is quite possible, bowever, that a few of the interchanges, noted by the latter, did not yet obtain in the earlier Prákrit.

## 2, Consonants.

With regard to the Consonants, there are five points in which the older Prákrit of Chaṇ̣a differs from its later forms, as exhibited in Vararuchi and Hemachandra.

1. The preservation of the dental $n$, in every case, whether single or double, whether initial or medial in a word. This follows from sútra II, 14

[^15]when compared with its revised terms in C D II, 14, and from the miform spelling of the Prákrit examples with $n$ in MSS. A and B. Still in exceptional cases the change of $n$ to $n$ does occur in the older Prákrit (III, 16). But, the almost general rule of the latter is to follow the Sanskrit usage, to chango $n$ to $n$ ouly in those cases where the change would occur in Sanskrit muder the influence of a preceding (cerebral) ri, $r$ or sh. The Prakrit of Vararuchi (II, 42) as well as the practice of the Revisionists exhibits the exact, counterpart; vian, a uniform substitution of the cerobral $n$ for the dental $n$. Hemachandra's Prákrit (the so-called Jaina Prákrit) oxhibits a practico more approaching to that of Chanda; viz., dental $n$ may bo preserved whon double medial or single initial, but is changed to $n$, when single medial (II. C. I, 228, 229). Still the difference is marked, and Hemachandra know it ; for he points it out himself.*
2. The preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants, with the only exception of $k$ which may be elided. This follows from sútra III, 34 as compared with the terms of that sútra in CD III, 34 . But $t$ was not unfrequently, and $t$ and $p$ were exceptionally, softened to $d, d, d$ respectively (III, 12). See also introductory remarks on pp. xiii, xiv. In the later Prákrit of Vararuchi (II, 2) the surd consonants aro clided, with the exception that $t$ is always (Vr. II, 20), and $t$ and $p$ not unfrequently (Vr. II, 7. V, 6. II, 15), softened to $d, d, v$ respectively. The still later Prakrib of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respeet (FI. C. I, 177, 195, 231), except that dental $t$ is now always elided (H. C. I, 209) ; its softening to $d$ now only surviving in the Șaurasení and Mágradhí dialects $\dagger$ (H C. I; 209, IV, 260, 302). The three successive stages of phonetic decay can be clearly traced; and this explains why the peculiarity of Şaurasení and Mágadhí in retaining the sonant $d$ is not noticed by Chanda ; it was simply because in his time no difference in this respect between those two dialects and the great Prákrit had declared itself. The fact seems to be, that the great Prákrit dialect decayed much faster, than the other two Prákrit dialects; though the long lapse of years has now practically obliterated any difference. In the modern dialects all over North India, there is no appreciable difference in the treatm ment of $d$; perhaps the only trace of the original tenacity of the Mágadhí in retaining $d$ being preserved in the past participial terminations il or al in Bangáli, Oríyá, Eastern Hindí and Maráṭí (the nearest representatives of the old Mágadhí), which in all probability are the same as the Mágadhí

* A'rshe; áranálam, anilo, analo; iti ády api; $\mathbf{i}, \mathrm{o}$., in the ársha modial $n$ is pro. served, as also the initial $n$. (FI. O. I, 228).
+ I leave here aside the curious rule of Hemachandra with reforonce to tho Aph Bhramsa (H. O. IV, 396). It refors to an ancient kind of Apabhramsa, as I shall shuw in the footnotes to the English Trunslation,

Lermination ida (Sanskrit ita); see the introductory remarks in my Comparative Grammar, also ibid, §§ 109, 300, pp. 62, 139.
3. The preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants, with the only exception of the which may be reduced to $\bar{\square}$. But the was not unfrequently, and the rest were exceptionally softened, to c̣l, ete. This has been shown in the introductory remarks pp. xiii, xiv. In the latar Pratkit of Vararuchi, only chh is presserved, but the is always, and $p h$ generally, softened
 to $h$ (Vr. II, 27). The still later IPrakrit of Memachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H. C. III, 187, 199), except that phe may now be either softened to $3 h$ or (more usually) reduced to $h$ (H. O. I, 236). Here again the softening of th to th only survives in the Şarasení and Mágudhí dialects (Vr. XII, 3. H. C. IV, 267, 302). The phonetic parallelism between this and the preceding case will not fail to be observed.
4. The preservation of the single medial somi-consonants $y$ and $v$. This follows from a comparison of sútra III, 34 with its terms as revised in C D III, 34. In the later Prákrit of Vararuchi and ILemachandray was always and $v$ commonly elided (Vr. II, 2. H. C. I, 177). In those cascs where Hemachandra seems to have preserved $y$, it is really not the somi. consonant which has been retained, but the semivowel $y$ (sce No. 5) which has been inserted.
5. The insertion of the semivowel $y$ to fill up the hiatus whenever the second vowel is $a$ (III, 35). This is the so-called ya-sputi, as it is named by Hemachandra (I, 180). According to him, however, both vowels must be a. Vararuchi's Prákrit knows nothing of this usage. It is not the peculiarity of any age or locality of Prákrit, but the degreo of its use or disuse marks the degree of the vernacular or artificial character of Prákrit. It is very observable in the less artificialized Jaina Prákrit.

In all other respects there is no difference between the older Prakrit and that of the later Grammarians.

The only consonants of the Sanskrit system which the former does not
 bral ष sh (III, 18). Both Vararuchi (IV, 17) and Hemachandra (I, 30) allow the two nasals in conjunction with their own class. To Chanda this practice appears to have been not unknown, as suttra II, 15 would indirectly seem to show. However, there can be but little doubt, that this was only an orthographic, and not a phonetic question; the class-nasal was probably always pronouncect (just as it is now, in the modern Gaudians), though it might be voriticn in eithor. way, by its own proper symbol or by the anusvara. Nevertheless, though that is the theoretioal rule of the grammars (even now), practically the classnasal is never writton, but always the anusvara.

The other consonants of the Sanskrit system, which the old Prákrit possesses, are subject to the following laws :

## a, Single Oonsonants.

1, Final consonants are either dropped or changed to anusvára or preserved by the addition of the vowel $a$ (II, 11. III, 33). In Vararuchi and Hemachandra these cases are particularised in a number of soparate sútras (Vr. IV, 6-12. H. C. I, 11-24).

2, Medial sonant unaspirate mute consonants are elided, (III, 34), though there are occasional exceptions (III, 30, C D II, 26).

3, Medial sonant aspirates are reduced to $\hbar$ (III, 13).
4, Initial $g$ is once (in gharam) said to become $g h$ (III, 20).
5, [In those cases, where $j$ has arisen from an original Sanskuit conjunct ( $j \tilde{n}$ ), it becomes $n$ (III, 19)].

6, $d$ sometimes changes to $l$ (III, 21). Only one example (solasa) is given, but it is probably meant as a type of others. In later times, at all events, this change was not uncommon; see C D III, 21. Vr. II, 23. H. C. I, 202.

7, $n$ changes to $n$ in Paiṣáchí (IIX, 38).
8, Dental consonants (incl. $n$ ) exceptionally change to the corresponding cerebral (III, 16). [In those cases where they have arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (ty, dy, sth, etc.) they may change to the corresponding palatal or cerebral (III, 16); once (in khamblo) such a th becomes kh (III, 19)].

9, Once (in vammatho) $m$ changes to $v$ (III, 21).
10, Initial $y$ becomes $j$ (III, 15); except in the second personal pronominal base, where it becomes $t$ (III, 17). Medial $y$ remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii) ; except in the passive where it is changed to $j j$ (III, 25), and in those cases in which it is vocalized to $i$ and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). [In those cases where $y$ has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct, it becomes $j$ or, exceptionally, $l$ (III, 15, 22)]. In teraha it is apparently said to become $r$ (III, 22) ; but the same worl is explained differently in III, 31.

11, $r$ remains unchanged; excepting a few rare cases in which it is said to change to $s$ or $n$ (III, 18, 20). These exceptions, bowever, can be explained differently. In the Paiṣáchí and Mágadhí dialects it always changes to $l$ (III, 38, 39).

12, $v$ remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii), excepting those few cases of medial $v$, in which it is vocalized and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). Once (in ruklekho) it is said to become r (III, 22).

13, s remains unchanged, excepting a few cases in which it becomes $7 /$ (III, 14). In Mágadhí, however, it always changes to s (III, 39). [In those cases where it has arisen from a Sanskrit sh or conjunct consonant, it may change to $7 / h$ or $\operatorname{chh}$ or $h$ (III, 14)].

14, $h$ remains 'unchanged; excepting one case (gharam) where it is said to become $r$ (III, 19). [In those cases where it has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct ( $h y, 7 v$ ), it changes to $j h$ or $7 \pi$ (III, 20, 21)].

## b, Conjunot Consonants.

In the treatment of these the older Prakrit is altogether in accord with the later. They may be dealt with in two ways:-

1, either they may be dissolved by interposing some short vowel ( $a$ or $i$ or $v b$, III, 30.

2, or they may be simplified by eliding one of them (III, 1-9) and doubling the other (III, 24, 27).

As regards doubling, an aspirate is reduplicated by means of the corresponding unaspirate (III, 26); and it never takes place in the beginning of a word (III, 28), nor in a few exceptional cases (III, 29).

With regard to elision Chanḍa's formal systom much differs from that used in Vararuchi and Hemachandra, though the material result is the same. In the latter Grammarians most conjuncts are changed bodily to a single consonant (see Vr. III, 9-66. H. C. II, 1-115) ; but Chaṇ̣la strictly carries out the theory of elision. For this purpose he arranges the consonants according to their degree of persistency, thus $r, y, v, l, h$, class consonants (incl. nasals), sibilants. Here each consonant resists those preceding it, but gives way to those succeeding it. Thus $r$ gives way under all circumstances (III, 9 , exc. in the Apabhramsa III, 37) ; $y$ gives way to $v, l, h$, etc. (III, 1, 2, 3, 5), but not to $r$; $v$ gives way to $l$ (III, 2) or $h$ (III, 1) or the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to $r$ and $y$ (III, 2, 9) ; $l$ gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to $r, y, v$ (III, 2, 9) ; $h$ gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3), but not to $y$ and $v$ (III, 1) ; the class-consonants, including the nasals, give way to the sibilants (III, 4, 6, 8), but not to $r$ (III, $3,5,9$ ) or $y, v, l$ (III, 3, 5) or $h$ (III, 3); lastly a sibilant gives way to no other consonant (III, 2, 4, 8), except to a succeeding single class-consonant or nasal (III, 3, 6 in $s k, s p, s h n, s n, s n$, sm, shm, etc.). This is his principle of elision. But his principle of arranging the sutras is the order of the letters in the alphabet. He commences with the last letter in the alphabet $\lambda$ (III, 1), then proceeds to the sibilants and semi-consonants (III, 2) ; next he takes the class-consonants (III, 3-8); and lastly he gives the peculiar case of $r$, which is always elided (III, 9 ). The six sútras, referring to the class-consonants, are arranged according to the
principle of the order of the elided letter in the conjunct. First Chanda gives two rules about cliding the first in the conjunct (III, 3, 4), then one rule about eliding the second in the conjunet (III, 5), lastly three rulos about optionally eliding the first or the second (III, 6-8).

After the elision has been made and before the dotubling takes place, the remaining single consonants undorgo some highly artificial changes. These have been already enumerated undor the rulos regarding the changes of single consonants where they are indicated by being placed within angular brackets. Here it only remains to add, that when the remaining single consonant happens to be a palatal or cerebral sibilant (s or sh), it is ipso faoto (i. e. by silent reference to III, 18) supposed to be changed to the dental $s$ and treated as such in regard to the neodful change before doubling (seo remarks on pp. ix, $x$ ). The reason of this will be at once understood, when it is recollected (see p. xxvii), that those two sibilants are the only consonants of the Sanskrit phonetic system (beside er $\tilde{n}$ and $\boldsymbol{\sigma} \tilde{n}$ ) which do not exist in Prákrit.

It may be well to illustrate Chanda's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as lulcshmi, krshnam, spashtam, sthitah, vialyá, jihvá, váhyah. Here Lassirmí first becomes lakshi (by III, 6), then lashí (III, 4) or lasi (III, 18) ; noxt lachhi (III, 14), finally lachchhí (III, 24, 26). Kpsinnam becomes first krnam (III, 6) or Kanam (II, 5), and then Kcanham (III, 23). Spashṭam becomes first pashtaxh (III, 3) or pushtam (II, 4), then phushtam (III, 11, 28), finally phufam (III, 8) ; or pushtam may become putcum (III, 8), then putham (III, 11), finally puttham (III, 24, 26). Sthitay becomes first thitah (III, 3), then thitah (III, 16, 28), then thitao (II, 10), finally thtito (II, 1) Vrdxí first becomes vidús (III, 5), then vijá (III, 16), finally vijjá (III, 24, 27). Jruva' becomes first jiháa (III, 1), then jibhd (III, 21), finally jibbhá (III, 24, 26). VA'Hyaf becomes first váhah (III, 1), then vajhah (III, 20), then vájjhah (III, 24, 26), then vajjhah. (II, 3), next vajjhao (II, 10), finally vajjho (II, 1).

It will be now understood from the preceding remarks, why the division of the third chapter of Chanḍa's Grammar into two parts, one (III, 1-9) on conjuncts, the other (III, 9-39) on single consonants, is such an important, and even essential, feature of his grammatical arrangement. To abolish that division, as the Revisionists have done, is to destroy its sym. metry and coherency.

## 3, Anustára.

The anusvára is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prákrit (II, 15, 11), as in the later (H. C. I, 23-30. Vr. IV, 12-17). It is not only used where it also occurs in Sanskrit; but sometimos it takes
the place of an elided consonant, which may have been either the final of a word (II, 11) or the first part of a conjunct (II, 15) ; or again it may be added at the end of a word for the mere sake of euphony (II, 15).

## 4, Visarga.

The visarga in the older Prákrit, as in the later, is never tolcrated (II, 10). It is either dropped altogether or changed into $o$ or $e$ or $r$. The change to $o$ or e occurs, e. $g$., in the nominative singular, that to $r$ in punarapi (compare H. C. II, 179).

## 5, Nouns.

The older Prákrit, like the later, has three genders, masculine, fominine and neuter ( $I, 2$ ); but the gender is variable ( $I, 4$ ). It has also like it, only two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being also used in the place of the Sanskrit dual (II, 12). It further has only six cases, the genitive being used in the place of the dative (II, 13)." The six cases with their case-suffixes are the following, for masculine nouns:

N. B.-The forms given after "or" belong to nouns in $i$ and $u$, the others are general, except those of the nom., instr., abl. singular and acc, plural and $e$ of the loc. sing. which belong to nouns in a. The sign (-) means absence of any suffix.

The vocative sing. and voc. plur. are nowhere noticed by Chanda, which may be explained in two ways, either that their forms were the same as in Sanskrit, or that they were the same as those of the old Prabrit nominative.

Feminine nouns add the same suffixes, except in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., where they take the suffix $e(I, 9)$, and in the nom. and acc. plural, where they take the suffixes 0 or $u$ or no suffix (I, 10).

Neuter nouns also take the same suffixes, as the masculines, except in the nom. and acc. plural, where they add the suffix $n i(\mathbf{I}, 3)$.
$N . B$.-Those suffixes which are used independently of the gender of the word Chănḍa indicates by the term lingat parasya ( $\mathrm{I}, 7,8$ ), unless where the fact is otherwise obvious (as in I, 3,5).

[^16]In adding these suffixes, the final vowel of the base of the word may undergo the same changes of elision or sandhi as in Sanskrit (I, 3. II, 1), or it may be exchanged with other vowels (II, 4). Thus in the acc. sing. deva $+a m=d e v a m$ (II, 1), aggi $+a m=\operatorname{aggim}(\mathrm{II}, 1,4)$, dhenu $+a m=$ dhenum (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p. 3); nom. sing. deva $+o=$ devo (II, 1) ; deva $+e=$ deve (II, 1); inst. sg. deva $+i n a=$ devena (II, 1); buddhi $+e=$ buddhic (II, 4) ; loc. sg. deva $+e=$ deve (II, 1); nom. acc. plur. buddhi $+o=$ bucldhio (II, 4); inst. pl. deva $+h i=d e v e h i$ (II, 4); loc. plur. deva $+s u=$ devesu (II, 4), etc. See also the additional remarks in the Analysis of Chanda's nominal declension.

Prákrit has only three declensions; viz. those ending in $a$ (or feminine a), $i$ and $u$ (or feminine in $i^{\prime}$ and $u$ ). Nouns ending in $i$ or $u^{\prime}$ are generally declined like those in $i$ and $u$ (see, e. g., I, 9), but masculines in $i$ and $u$ are nowhere especially mentioned by Chanda. Nouns originally ending in a consonant either drop the final consonant or add $a$ to it, so that they come under one of the three declensions in $a$ or $i$ or $u$ (see II, 11). Nouns originally ending in $r i$ are nowhere noticed by Chanḍa, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5 , by which $r i$ would change to $u$ and, in some cases, to ara or ára, as in Páli and the later Prálerit. Thare is one exceptional declension; viz. that of the word go "cattle" (II, 16).

## a, Declension in $a$.

The nom. sing. ends in o or e masc., e. g., devo or deve; á fem., e. g., gangó ; am neut., e. g., kulam.

The acc. sing, ends in am masc. and neut., e. g., devam, Tculam; ám fem., e. g., gangám.

The instr. sing. ends in eṇa masc. and neut., e. g., devenca, kulena; áe fem., e. g., gangáe.

The abl. sing. ends in $\alpha^{\prime}$ or áto or átu or áhinto masc. and neut., e. g., devá or deváto or devátu or deváhinto, kulá, etc.; dae fem., e. g., ganıgáe. To these forms may be added the abl. made with the suffix to (= Sanskrit tah). It is not noticed by Chanḍa, because it is not technically a declensional form. For the same reason it is separately noticed by Kachchayana (II, 5, 1, p. 116). But its existence in the Ársha is guaranteed by its existence in Páli, and by its existence in the modified form tto in the later Prákrit (H. O. III, 8); also by the existence in the Ársha itself of the pronominal forms mä̈tto, taïtto ( $\mathrm{I}, 24,28$ ).

The gen. sing. ends in assa masc. and neut., e. g., devassa. Curiously enough the genitive sing. of $a$-bases is nowhere noticed, unless it be indirectly taught by sútra I, 13. The latter was the opinion of the Revisionists; and
it is possible that on that account they may have removed it from $I, 3$, where one would naturally expect to find it mentioned by Chanḍa. Fem. de, e. g., gangáe.

The loc. sing. ends in $e$ or ammi masc. and neut., e. g., deve or devanmi, Kule or kulammi ; de fem., e. g., gangáe.

The nom. plur. ends in d́ masc,, e. g., devá; do or aü or á fem., e. g., gangáo, gangánu, gangáa; neut. áni or ḍni, e. g., kuldni or Kculáni.

The acc. plur. ends in e masc., e. g. deve; áo or aíi or á fem., e g., gangáo, gangáii, gangá; âni or áni neut., e. g., Kulani or Kıwláni,

The instr. plux. ends in ehi or ehim (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., devehi, or devehiṃ, kulehi or kulehim ; d́hi or áhim fem., e. g., gangáhi or gangáhim.

The gen. plur. ends in dana or áha or ánam or áham (II, 15); e. g., devána or deváha or devanam or deváham, gangana, etc., kulána, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in esu or esum (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., devesu or devesum, kulesu or kulesum ; ásu or ásum fem, e. g., gangásu or gangásum.

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Páli and later Prákrit or Arddha-Mágadhí forms for purposes of comparison.

Masculines in $a$.

| Case. <br> Sing. Nom. | Sanskrit. देव: | Páli. टेवो | Ársha. देवे or देवे | Prálrit.* <br> देबे or दे बे |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voc. | हे टेव | हे देव | हे देव Or 亏ं देवा | हे देव0r छे दे |
| - Acc. | दे बं | दे वं | दें ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | टेवं |
| Instr. | टे ${ }^{\text {a }}$ न | देशेन | दे $े$ प | देवेषा |
|  | देबात् | देबा | देवा | ऐेवा |
| Abl. $\{$ | देवतः | देवतो | देवते <br> देवातो or ॰ वात्रु | देवत्षे <br> देवा落 or •बाए |
|  |  | देवम्बा or ॰ स्मा | देवाहिंते | देवifितेत or देवाष्टि |
| Gen. | देवस्य | देवस्त | देवस्व | देवस्स |
|  | $\int$ देवे | देवे | देवे | देवे |
| Loc. | $\{$ | देषन्हिं or ०fंसं | देवक्मि | देश ${ }^{\text {¢ }}$ |
| Plur. Nom. | \} देषा: | देवा | देश | द्वेा |
|  | \} |  | द्व | द्वा |

* The forms in this column are from Hemachandra's Grammar.
+ Arddha-Mágadhí; see H. O.IV, 287.

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| Case. |  | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { Páli. } \\ & \text { देवे } \end{aligned}\right.$ |  | Prákrit. द्वखा or द्वे |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Instr. | दจิ: | देबेशै or देवेfह | देवेदि or of |  |
|  | देवेश् | देवेमि or चि | देवेषिंते | देथेशिंतो or -बुंतो |
|  | - | - | - | देवाष्षितो or 0 हुंत्ने |
|  | देवानां | देवानं | देवाएँं or देवाए | देषाएां or देवाए |
|  |  | - | देवाँं or ${ }^{\text {® }}$ | देवाहं or 0 ह |
| Loc. | देवेषु | देवेनु | देवेपु or ०सु |  |


| Feminines in \% |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Case. | Sanskrit. | - Páli, | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
| Sing. Nom. | गंगा | गंग | गंगT | ग่गा |
| Voc. | गंगे | गंगे | गंगा or गंगे | गंग़ or गंगे |
| Acc. | गंगा | गंग | गंगां | गंग |
| Instr. | गंगया |  |  |  |
| Abl. $\left.{ }_{\text {Gen. }}\right\}$ | गंगाया: |  | गंगए |  |
| Loc. | गंगायां | (or loc. गंगायं) |  |  |
| Plur. Nom. <br> Voc. <br> Acc. | $\text { \}ंगः: }\{$ | गंगा गंगायेग | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { गंगा } \\ & \text { गंगाखो or गंगाष्ड } \end{aligned}\right.$ | गंगा <br> गंगाख्यो or गंगाड |
| Instr. | गंगाभि: | गंगाभि or गंगाहि | गंगार्चि or चि |  |
| Abl. | गंगगत्यः | गंगाf\% or गंगारि | गंगाधहंतो | गंगारिंतो or ० कुंते |
| $\text { Gen. }\{$ | गंगानां |  | गंगाएँं or गंगाएँ | यंगगषं or गंगगए |
|  |  | - | गंगाहं or ${ }^{\text {- }}$ | गंगाए ${ }^{\text {or }}{ }^{\circ} \mathrm{F}$ |
| Loc. | गंगाप्ष | गंगापु | गंगाष्ठ or ०सु | गंगातु or ०सुं |

[^17]Neuters in $a$.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. Nom. <br> Acc. | f क्षं | कुलं | कुषं | कुलं |
| Voc. | कुल | क्बल | कुल | क्रुल |
| Plur. Nom. <br> Voc. | कुलानि | कुलानि or कुला | कुलानि or ०f | कुलाएिए or ०लाइं or |
| Acc. |  | remainder li | masc. in $a$. | -बाहँ |

## b, Declensions in $i$ and $u$.

These two are treated alike, mutatis mutandis; thus:-
The nom. sing. ends in $i$ and $u$; e. g., masc. aggi, guru; fem. buvddhi, dhenu; neut. dahi, mahu.

The acc. sing. ends in $i \underline{m}$ and $u \underline{m}$; e. g., masc. aggim, gurum, fem. buddhim, dhenum ; neut. dahim, mahum.

The instr. sing. ends in iná and uná masc. and neut., e. g., agginá, gurunáa and dahináa, mahuná; íe and úe fem., e. g., buddhie, dheniue.

The abl. sing. ends in ino and uno masc. and neut., e. g., aggino, guruno and dahino, mahuno ; ie and ue fem., e. g., buddhrie, dheniue. There is also the quasi-abl. in ito and uto; e. g., aggito, guruto, etc.

The gen. sing. ends in ino or issa and uno or ussa masc. and neut., e. g., aggino or aggissa, guruno or gurussa and dahino or dahissa, mahuno or mahussa; ie and ue fem., e. g., buddhie, dhenúe.

The loc. sing. ends in immi and ummi masc. and neut., e. g., aggimmi, gurummi and ${ }^{\text {animmi, mahummi ; ie and ie fem., e. g., buddhie, dhenúe. }}$

The nom. and acc. plur. end in ayo or $i$ or $i n o$ and avo or $\hat{u}$ or uno masc., e. g., aggayo or aggí or aggino, guravo or gurú or guruno ; $i$ or $i o$ or $i u$ and $u$ or $\mathrm{u}_{0}$ or $\mathrm{i} u$ fem., e. g., buddhi or buddhio or buddhiu, dheni or dhenuo or dhenúu. The neuter is not noticed; probably ini and úni; e. g., dahíni, mahini ; or possibly like the masculine, dahi or dahino, mahi or mahiṇo. The masculine forms in ayo and avo are not especially noticed by Chanda, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in ayah, avah, and would come under his general rule I, 3. Their existence is guaranteed by the Páli on the one side, and the later Prákrit on the other. (Vararuchi V, 16 specially notes a nom. and acc. form in io and uo, which is the same as ayo and avo, with $a y$, av contracted to $\dot{u}$, $u$ respectively.)

The instr. plur. ends in $i \hbar i$ or $i \hbar i m$, and $u h i$ or $u k i m ;$ e. g., mase. aggihi or aggihim, guruhi or guruhim; fem. buddhihi or buddhihim, dhenuhi or dhenuhim; neut. dahihi or dalihim, mahuhi or mahuhim.

The abl. plur. ends in ikinto and uhinto; e. g., mase. aggihinto, guruhinto; fem. buddhihinto, dhenuhinto; neut. daliihinto, mahuhinto.
 uinam or uhham, e. g , masc. aggina or agginang or aggiha or aggiham, gurinat or gurưnamn or gurủha or gurîhann; fem. buddhinn or buddhihha, etc., dhenúna or dhenihha, etc.; neut. dahinga or dahiha, etc., mahinna or mahiiha, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in isu or isum and usu or usum; masc. aggisu or aggisum, gurusu or gurusum; fem. buddhisu or buddhisum, dhenusw or dhenusum; neut. dahisu or dahisum, mahusu or mahusum.

To the voc. sing. and plur. the same remark applies as to the voc. of the $a$-declension.

Unfortunately there is not a little untrustworthiness and inconsistency in the MSS., regarding this declension. Yet with a careful combination of all indications, it is not impossible to recognise its real circumstances. The main points are four:
(1). In sútra I, 3 all MSS. make the termination of the nom. sing. of all nouns in $i$ and $u$, of whatever gender, to be $i$ and $u$. This is almost certainly false ; for (a) even in the later Prakrit of Vararuchi ( $V, 30$ ) and Hemachandra (III, 25) the nom. sing. neuter ends in short $i$ and $u$; and (b) what is more important, there is no shitra in Chanda's grammar to account for the long $i$ and $\dot{u}$ of the nom. sing., as compared with the short $i$ and $u$ of the Sanskrit. I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanda's rules on nominal declension that Chanḍa enumerates in sútra I, 3 all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding Sanskrit forms (samskritavad vibhaktayah), excepting so far as they are modified by the general phonetic laws of the Prákrit. Now by shatra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination $i k$ or $u \hbar$ is omitted, but there is no sútra anywhere in Chanda to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short $i$ or $u$. Hence it is very probable, that in Chandan's Prákrit the nominative singular ended in $i$, and similarly in' $u$. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed. by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sútra II, 5 there occurs the word rishih, the Prákrit form of which in all. MSS. is given as isi (not isí); again in that very sutra II, 10 one example is vati, as all MSS. read, for Skr. vritilu*; again in sútra II, 17 we have mati and gati, with all MSS. (exc. B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Páli, which Chanḍa's Prákrit resembles in so many

[^18]ways, affords a further confirmation of the truth; for there the nom, sing. also ends in $i$ and $u$ (see Minayef, pp. 64, 66, 69). Accordingly I have restored the short $i$ and $u$ in the nom. sing, throughout.
(2). It is very similar with the instr., abl., and loc. plural. Here all MSS. read long $i$ and $\dot{u}$ before the suffixes $h i$, , hinto and $s u$. But as Chaṇ̣a has no sútra to enjoin the lengthening of $i$ and $u$, it is probable that in his Prákrit they were not long, as in the later Prákrit, but short, as (optionally) in Páli (see Minayef ibid., also Kuhn, pp. 79, 81, 82). The fact that Chanda places the forms of the instr. and loc. plural under sutra $I$, 3 , which enumerates whatever in declension was like Sanskrit, tends in the same direction; and it is further curiously confirmed by his excluding the abl. plural from suitra I, 3. Suppose, e. g., that aggíhi, aggíhinto and aggisu be correct forms; if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sútra $I, 3$, as they are all unlike Sanskrit on account of their long $i$; but let the forms be aggihi, aggihinto, aggisu, then only aggihinto is unlike Skr. agnibhyah, on account of hinto; and must be excluded from I, 3, whereas aggihi is like Skr. agnibhith ( $h$ being dropped by II, 10 and $b \hbar$ becoming $~ h$ by III, 13) and aggisu like Skr. agnishu (sh becoming $s$ by III, 18) ; hence these two forms will come under I, 3. This is precisely what we find Chanḍa to have actually done; it follows that his premises must have been what we have supposed them to have been. Accordingly I have restored the short $i$ throughout in those three cases.*

In confirmation of the above reasoning it should be noticed, that whenever the short $i$ and $u$ are really lengthened to $i$ and $u$ in Chaṇ̣a's Prákrit, as in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. singular and nom. and ace. plural of feminine nouns, the change is expressly enjoined by Chanḍa, by sutria II, 4 , where he gives the two examples buddhr'e, dheniee (not buddhie, dhenue).
(3). The acc. singular of feminine nouns in $z$ and $\dot{u}$, as well as of feminine nouns in $\alpha$, has a long termination; thus gangám, nain, vahúm.. The MSS., on the whole, are decisive on this point. For though $C$ and $D$ read gangam in I, 3, B reads gangam (A omits it) ; on the other hand C and D read naim in I, 3 (A B omit it). This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prákrit, but even Páli (see Minayef, pp. 64, 67, 70) have the short termination, so that, if the long termination in Chanḍa were due to the Revisionists, they would have acted contrary to their usual instincts of conforming to the later Prákrit; and this strongly makes for the genuineness of the long terminations. The fact, that Chanda enumerates them under

[^19]sútra I, 3, makes in the same direction; for if they had been short, they would have been too unlike Sanskrit to be noticed in that sutra. Another evidence in the same direction is the fact, that in suitra II, 16, where Chanḍa gives the declension of the noun gávé"cow", the two MSS. C D again read gávim in the acc. sing. (A B omit it) ; this carries all the more weight, as it is again an undesigned coincidence. Lastly there is another striking evidence, in the personal pronouns, which also preserve the Sanskritic long termination in their acc. sing. tudam or tám and mám (see remarks, p. xlvi).
(4). All MSS. assign a locative singular in $e$ to the nouns in $i$ and $u$; thus aggie, gurue. That this is false, and rests on a misconception by the Revisionists of the intention of sutra $I, 14, I$ shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanda's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms.


| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli |  | Prákrit. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Abl. | ब्चग्मिम्यः | च्चनिग्गिभ or ०हि <br> घ्वग्गौभि cr of | चग्गिधिंतो | च्मग्गীघ्रंतो or ॰सुंते |
| Gen. | ष्यम्मীनiं | स्षग्गौनं . | चग्गौषां or $\circ$ पा ซग्गौच्छे Or 0 - | बग्गोएँं or 0 प्या $(d c e s t)^{*}$ |
| Loo. | अ्यक्मिषु \{ | च्चग्गिस् <br> खग्गौतु | चरिगतु or ०सं | ब्चाग्गीक्तु or ०तं |

Feminines in $i$.

| Case. <br> Sing. Nom. | Sanskrit. <br> बैंद्धि: | Páli. बुधि | A'rsha. बुचि | Prákxit. बुछी |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voc. | बुडे | बुरि | बुजि | बुडि or बु⿵्बो |
| Acc. | बुप्षिं | बुषिं | बुडिं | बुद्वं |
| Instr. | बद्या? |  |  |  |
| $\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { Abl } \\ \text { Gen. }\end{array}\right\}$ | $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { बुद्याः or } \\ \begin{array}{l}\text { बुड़ }\end{array} \\ \text { ¢ }\end{array}\right\}$ | बहिया <br> (abl. loc. also | बुजीए $\{$ | बुदीए $o r$ बुधीद <br> बुद्धीया or बुद्घीष्ष |
| Loc. $\{$ | $\left.\begin{array}{l} \text { बुद्यां or } \\ \text { बुस्बत } \end{array}\right]$ | बद्घा, 100. बुद्धियं, बुद्यां, बुधिं, बुर्जा) |  |  |
| Plur. Nom. | \} बुछ्घयः $\{$ | बुड्छी बुडियेग | बुछी <br> बुड्घौं $o r$ बुज्बीज | $\begin{aligned} & \text { बुड्दी } \\ & \text { बुंबीच्चिए or बुधौउ } \end{aligned}$ |
| Acc. | बुप्दी | like* nom. | like nom. | like nom. |
| Instr. | बुतिसि: $\{$ |  | बुधिधि or ०f $\qquad$ | बुछ्दीच or ०f |
| Abl. | बुजिश्यः \{ | बुfड़ि or ० बुद्दौभि or ०हि | बुदिधिंते | बुर्छीचिंतो or ० सुंता |
| Gen. | बुछीनां | बुडीनं \{ | बुडीयां or ०णा बुद्धी or ${ }^{\circ}$ है | बुद्धीएां or ० एा (deest)* |



Neuters in $i$.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. Nom. | दधि | दधि | दचि (acc. द¢िं) |  |
|  |  |  |  | (roc. only दृि) |
| Plur. do. | दधौनि | दधी or दघीनि | दहीनि or ०fि | दहीशिए or द्छौदं |
|  |  |  |  | or द्हीदूँ |

The remainder, like masculines in $i$,


* Like जंतुनो, see Minayef, p. 69.

| Case. | Sanskrit | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Instr. | गुरूिः | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { गुरुभि or ०苂 * } \\ \text { गुरुभि or ० हि }\end{array}\right.$ | गुर्षि or ०हिं $\qquad$ | गरूधि or of |
| Abl. | मु बभ्यः | गुबसि or ०धि गुरुभि or ०fि | गुरूहिंतो $\qquad$ | गुरहिंवो or ०xंतो |
| Gen. | गुरुपां | $\text { गुरूपाँ }\{$ |  | गुर्युं or गुरूप्य <br> deest $\dagger$ |
| Loc. | गुषुष | गुरुद्य <br> गुरूत्र | गुरुद्ध or वर्डं $\qquad$ | गुर्तु O1: वसुँ |



| Neuters in $\boldsymbol{u}$. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Case. | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
| Sing. Nom. | सधु | सधु |  | मङ or मङं or मङँ |
|  |  |  |  | voc. स5). |
| Plur. do. | मधूनि | सधू or मधूनि | मर्कन or ०f | सहीपि or मद्रं or मघรँ. |

The remainder, like masculines in $u$.
Masculine nouns in $i$ and $\dot{u}$ are generally declined like those in $i$ and $u$, excepting the nom. sing. which ends in $i$ or $u^{\prime}$ respectively.*

Feminine nouns in $i$ and $u$ are declined like those in $i$ and $u$, excepting, of course, that they have long $z$ and $\dot{u}$ wherever the latter have short $i$ and $u$.

| Feminines in $\mathbf{i}$. |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
| Sing. Nom. | नदौ | बद्री | नो | न¢ |
| Voc. | नदि | बदि | बत | नद |
| Ace. | नदौं | नदिं or नटियं | नर्\$ | नरं |
| Plur. Instr. | नदीभ: | नदौभि or 0f |  | नर्दूरि or of |
| Abl. | नदीय्यः | नदौभि or ०हि | नर्दंधिंतो | नर्दूरिंतो or ०हुंतो |
| Loc. | नदोष | नदौत्रु | नर्दूतु or ०सुं | नर्दंड़ or नर्दंष |

Feminines in $u$.



The declension of the noun go "cow".
The declension of this noun is given in sútra II, 16. It is not really an irregularly declined noun. The fact is, the Sanskrit word go is goneris communis. The Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit), however, have formed separate words for the two genders ; viz., gávo masc. and gáví fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of nai "river".


The remainder, like feminines in $\boldsymbol{v}^{\text {. }}$

## 6, Pronouns.

a, Personal Pronouns.
The original forms of the base of this pronoun are H and ( $=$ Sanskrit *स्म), of which, in Sanskrit, the former belongs to the singular and the latter to the plural. In the Vernaculars (Páli, Prakrit), however, this distinction is not strictly observed. Moreover there are some by-forms of the base ; viz., mama, mayha, maha, majjha. The last two, which occur in the Ársha, are, probably, mere modifications of mayha which occurs in Páli

* Gáví nom, sing. in Kuhn, p. 85, and gdiviyo nom. plur. in Childers, p. 145, and gâví in Kaohoh. II, 1, 23 (Sonart, p. 14).
$\dagger$ Gáví in H. C, II, 174 and gáí in H, C. I, 158 and gávío in H. C. II, 174.
and, in the form mahyo, in Sanskrit. In the Arsha these by-forms occur only in a few isolated cases ; but in the later Prákrit they have a nearly regular declension.

The Ársha, also, has an indeclinable form bhe, which may be used for any of the six cases (II, 27). Hemachandra (III, 106) allows it only in the acc. plural. It is probably a modification of mhe, curtailed from amhe.

Declension.


b, Second Personal Pronoun.
The original bases of this pronoun are tva or $t a$ and tumha (Sanskrit yushma). In Sanskrit they belong to the singular and plural respectively; but in the Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit) the distinction is not strictly observed. There are, moreover, the following by-forms of the base:
tu or tava or twva or tuma and tuyha or tuha or tujjha or tubbha or tumbha. The first four are probably modifications of toa, and the others, of tumha. The A'rsha possesses most of these by-forms, though they, occur only in isolated cases ; absent are only $t u$, tuva, tuyha. In the later Prákrit, however, they are capable of almost regular declension.

The Arsha possesses also an indeclinable form bhe which may be used in any of the six cases (II, 26). Hemachandra confines its use to the instrumental singular and to the nominative, accusative, instrumental and genitive plural (H. C. III, 94, 91, 93, 95, 100).

The second personal pronoun in Chanda's Prákrit is especially deserving of notice, as some of its forms bear a striking witness to its antiquity. I mean the forms of the nom. acc. and loc. sing., which, just as in Pafli, may optionally preserve the initial conjunct $t v$. The MSS. are on this point in considerable confusion, owing to the, perhaps, natural mistake of the Revisionists, that these were the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prakrit forms. This can be very clearly shown in regard to the accusative case. The readings are the following:

B लां। सां। तं। मं॥
C ल्वं। मां। तं। मं॥
D खंँ। तं। मां। मं॥
A has nearly preserved the original reading, as I shall presently show. The Revisionists, mistaking todam and mám for Sanskrit, were naturally surprised to miss in A the corresponding form सं; ; they quietly added में in $B$ and C. Next noticing that these four forms did not observe their proper order, they change the latter to tvám, tam, mám, mam in D. This no doubt is the correct order ; provided that tvám and mám are really Sanskrit.* But the truth is that they are not Sanskrit. Indeed, one of the indications that they are not Sanslsrit, is the very fact of the absence of that order in A B C. On the other hand, on the supposition that they are not Sanskrit, but Prákrit, it will at once appear that the reading of $\mathbf{A}$ does observe the proper order; moreover it will also be seen, why A omits mam. The order of the forms of the nom. plural (vayam, tuhme, ahme) clearly shows Chandan's method. Tayam is a tatsama; tuhme and ahme are tadbhavas; the tatsama form corresponding to vayam is yuíyam, but that does not exist in Prákrit. Chaṇạa's inethod, evidently, is to give firstly the tatsama forms, afterwards the tadbhava. Applying this key to the explanation of accusative singular forms,

[^20]we find that toám, mám is the tatsama pair ; the tadbhava pair should be tám, mám, but mám is not a tadbhava; hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is tvóm, mám, tám. That tám must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument; if tam were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form mam would be unaccountable; while if tám was the original reading, its change into tam by the first Revisionist can be easily accounted for by his taking toám for Sanskrit and tám for (what it undoubtedly would be in that case) an erroneous Prákrit spelling. But if tvam is a Prakrit tatsama, its immediate tadbhava is tám, not tam. And there is this to be said for the form tám, that it agrees with the general law of Chanḍa's Prákrit, of preserving the long termination in the acc. singular (see the remarks on p. xxxvii). Moreover if tam were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chaṇ̣̣a under sútra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit tvám to be fairly called a samskritavad vibhakti. It would, no doubt, have had a special sútra assigned to it; as indeed is done by the Revisionist authors of CD (in I, 20) who seem to have felt a little the inconsistency of their changing tam into tam. It being thus established, that tvam is the tatsama form of the acc. singular, there is little difficulty in adjusting the forms of the nom. and loc. singular. The tatsama forms of the former are tvam, aham; the tadbhava is tam, which is not mentioned in sútra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sútras (e. g. in II, 18). The tatsama locatives are tvayi, mayi; the tadbhava is tayi. There are, of course, no tadbhava forms of aham and mayi.

Declension.

| Case. | Sanskrit. <br> बंब | Páli.而 | Ársha. बं or तं | Prálrit. तं or तुं |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nom. | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} - \\ \\ \end{array}\right.$ | तुवं $\qquad$ | तुरं | तुरुं or त्रुमं तुच्ह |
| Acc. | $\int_{-}^{\text {ल्वां }}$ | बं or लं तवं or त्रुवं | लां or ล่ तुरं | สं or तुं तुखं or तुसं |
|  | $[$ |  | तुए | तुप्र |
|  | ₹ ख्या | त्वया or तया | तए or तद | तए or तद्र |
| Instr. | $\{-$ | - | ते or तुमे $\qquad$ | ते or तुमे तुमए or तुमद |


|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 00 } \\ & 0 \\ & \text { ran } \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ |  |  | \％ |  |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Q } \\ & \stackrel{9}{9} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | \％ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\overparen{T}$ | $1$ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | $T$ | $1$ | $1$ | $1$ | $1$ | 뢰 | 2 |  |  | , 32 |  |  |  |  |  |
| $1$ | $1 \mid \text { an }$ | $1$ | $1$ |  |  | $\mid$ |  | $\lceil$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { col } \\ & \text { 此. } \end{aligned}$ | ald | $1$ |  |  | $2 \mid$ |  |  |  |  | $1$ | $1$ | $\begin{aligned} & \frac{a}{s} \\ & \frac{s}{7} \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & \text { 괵 } \end{aligned}$ | ror |
| $1$ | $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { and } \\ & \text { and } \\ & \text { on } \\ & \text { 匍 } \end{aligned}\right.$ | $1$ |  |  |  | $1$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 혓 } \\ & 0 \\ & \text { a } \\ & \text { 잉 } \end{aligned}$ | 1 |  | जal | 等 | © | 률 |  |  |  |  | $1$ | 利 | ㅇㅕㅚ 볔 |  | 管 |
| $\begin{aligned} & \hline 01 \\ & 0.1 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & \hline 4 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 吅 } \\ & \text { 亲 } \\ & \text { 표 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { N0 } \\ & \text { 罗 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 잉 } \\ & \text { 娄 } \\ & \text { 현 } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 이 } \\ & \text { 人 } \mathbf{A}^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  | 㯭 |  | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & \text { on } \\ & \text { H } \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & y \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  | तुब्म干ोorतुब्भाब्यो,eto | तुच्रणीorतुछाष्घो，etc． | तुवत्रोorतुताबाष्यो，etc． | 멮， |  | ？${ }_{\text {a }}^{4}$ | － |


| Case． | Sanskrit． उः | वो | Arsha． वो | Prákrit． वो |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | तुम्हे（or तुम्हाकं） | तुम्हे | तु晾 |
| Acc． | $\{$ गय्यान् | － | तुब्षे |  |
|  |  | $\square$ | － | तुरहे or उरहे |
|  | L | － | － | तुज⿸丆⿰丨丶⿵⿸⿻一丿口⿰亻⿱丶⿻工二力灬丶 |
|  |  | तुन्हेभि or ॰ च्चि | तुम्दें or of | तु |
| Instr． | घ ष्माभ： |  | （तुब्सेहि or ०हचं？） |  |
|  |  |  | － |  तुज्ञ |
|  | $r$ | तुन्देभि or ॰咅 | $\text { तुम्हेहिंतो }\{$ | तुम्छेचिंतो or • नुतंतो＊ तुम्दानिंतो or ॰ नुंतो |
| Abl． | गुष्मत् | － | － | तुक्झे॰ or तुब्दा $\rho$, ，ttc． |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | $\qquad$ |  | वो | तु बक्मे०orतुछ बो |
|  |  |  |  | तुन्दाएां or ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Gen． | $\{$ चष्माक $\{$ | तुम्दाकं |  | तुराएां or ० प्रा <br> तुकाएंO तु वाएं $0{ }^{\bullet} \bullet$ एा |
|  |  |  | 4 | तुब्भाएं or $\circ$ एा तुज्भा एiं or ० ए |
|  |  | तुन्हं | －＿$\cdot\{$ | तुन्ह or तुन्दं तुब्म or तुब्य तुज्ञ or तुज्ञां |




b, Demonstrative Pronouns.

These are tad, etad and idam. Their declensional bases are ta, eta and ima respectively. They are regularly declined, like nouns in a. Of the regular forms of tad the following are mentioned by Chanda, nom. sing. neuter tary (II, 17) ; nom. plur. masc. te (I, 31) ; instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. fem. táe (I, 9) ; gen. plur. com. gen. tánam or táham (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed; nom. sing. masc. sa (II, 17, Skr. sa), fem. sá (IF, 1, Skr. sá) ; abl. sing. fem. tassá (B O D, I, 3, Skr. tasyáh), gen. sing. or plur. com. gen. se ( $\mathrm{I}, 17$ ) ; gen. plar. masc. or neat. tesam. (Skr. teshám) or tesim (I, 3); loc, sing, masc. or neut. tasmim (Skr. tasmin) or tamih ( $\mathrm{B} \mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{3)} .\mathrm{All} \mathrm{these} \mathrm{anomalous} \mathrm{forms} \mathrm{are} \mathrm{relics} \mathrm{from} \mathrm{the} \mathrm{Sanskrit}$, excepting the genitive se. They also occur in Páli, excepting the genitive general se and the genitive plural tesim (see Minayef's Páli Grammar, pp. 83-85). There are also evidences of the existence of an irregular feminine base ti or tí; viz., instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. tié (I, 9) and abl. sing. tissá ( $\mathrm{BCD}, \mathrm{I}, 3$ ).

Of the base eta, the only forms noticed are the Sanskritic nom. sing. masc. esa (II, 10) and the anomalous gen. general se (I, 17).

Of the base $i m a$, only the regular form ima of the nom. sing. fem. (II, 1) and the anomalous form se of the genitive general ( $\mathrm{I}, 17$ ) are mentioned.

> c, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

The bases are $j a$ and $k a$, which are declined regularly, like nouns in $a$. There are only three forms, however, noticed in Chanda; viz., the irregular
*Sanskritic abl. sing. masc. or neut. jamhd (III, 23) of the relative pronoun

and the irregular Sanskritic nom. singular neuter $\mathbb{K i m}(\mathrm{I}, 23)$ and the regular gen. plural $\mathbb{K} a_{n a m}$ or Káham (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun.

## d, Pronominal Adjectives.

The pronouns of quantity are táva " so much", jáva " as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit távat, yávat, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant $t$. Besides táva there also occurs the anomalously shortened form tot (but not já, for jáva). The Páli has only táva, jáva, but not tá (see Childers, pp. 500, 599). The later Prákrit has both pairs complete, táva and jáva, tá and já (H. C. I, 271). Páli has also a form jávam (apparently really a nom. sing., like maham, bhavam ; the Ársha probably had both távan and jávam; at least they occur in the Jaina Prákrit of the Bhagavatí (see Weber's Eragment, p. 257).

There is also mentioned the interrogative pronominal adjective, nom. sing. masc., katare " which of two" (II, 10, Skr. Teatarah).

## 7, Numerals.

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chanḍa, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in nham (I, 6). From this fact, however, it may be concluded, that, in all other respects, the declension of numerals was regular and followed that of nouns. That is to say, that eka "one", pancha "five", and all others, ending in $a$, were declined like nouns in a (e. g., deva) ; di "two" (Skr. dvi) and ti "three" (Slkr. tri), like nouns in $i$ (e. g., aggi); and chatu "four" (Skr. chatur), like nouns in $u$ (e. g., gurut). It is probable, however, that the nominative and accusative of the second and fourth numerals were taken directly from the Sanskrit; $v i z ., d o$ or duve or ve (Skr. dvau, dve, Pali dve, duve, Prákrit do, duve, ve, donni, venni) "two"; chattáro (acc. also chatwro), chatasso, ohattári (so also in Páli; Skr. chatvárah, chaturaho, chatasraḩ, chatvári; Prák. chattáro, chaüro, chattári) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally:
6. chha (III, 14), Skx. shat, Pá. chha, Prák. chha.
10. daha (III, 14), Skr. daṣa, Pá. da asa, Pr. dasa or daha.
13. teraha (III, 22, 31) Skr. trayodaṣa, Pá. teraha or telaha, Pr. teraha.
16. solasa (III, 21), Skr. shoḍaṣa, Pá. solasa, Pr. solaha (?)
20. visá (III, 32), Skr. vimusati, Pá: vísati or visam, Pr. visá.
30. tísá (I, 6), Skr. trimsat, Pá. timsati or tísamb, Pr. tísá.
50. panná (IIİ, 32), Skr. panchásat, Pá. pañinásam, Pr. pannúsá.
55. panapannasa (III, 33), Skr. panchapanchásat, Pá. puneloapaññása, Pr. panavanná.
The following numerals are also mentioned, viz. :- .

6th chhattho (III, 26), Skr. shashthah, Pá. chhattho or sattho (Kachch. p. 200), Pr. chhattho.
" 6 fold" chhakkam (III, 3), Skr. shatkam, Pá. chhakkam, Pr. chhak7am.

## 8, Tife Vertb.

Chanda's Grammar talkes no formal notice of the conjugation of the Verb. Incidentally, however, not a little information is supplied; and that shows that, on the whole, the conjugation did not differ much from its Sanskrit prototype, so far at least as the ordinary tenses are concerned. The difference does not appear to have been greater than that between the Páli and Sanskrit.

The old Prákrit, like the Páli and Sanskrit, had parasmaipada and átmanepada forms; thus parasm. gachehhati "he goes" (II, 4) ; átm. najjate "it is known" (III, 25). These two examples also show the existence of the active and passive voices. The MSS. vary a good deal in their spelling (see the var. lect.) ; sometimes all give the ending $e$ of the átmanepada (e. g., vijjhate in III, 11) ; sometimes only one or the other (e. g., disate in II, 5. najjate in III, 25), while the rest give the termination $i$ of the parasmaipada. I have preferred restoring uniformly the átmanepada ending, as it has undoubtedly the support of antiquity and because Chanda has no sútra to allow for the change of the átmanepada into the parasmaipada. That change became almost universal in later Prákrit; its beginnings are already to be found in Páli (Kachch. III, 4, 37. p. 263) ; and it may have occasionally occurred in the Ársha; it certainly did occur in the Arsba in the present participle, where it is enjoined by an especial sútra (II, 25); but the absence of any such sútra with reference to the tenses seems to show that the change did not yet affect the latter.

There was no dual, as sútra II, 12 shows. The examples are all taken from the noun ; but if the noun had no dual, the verb is not likely to have had it.

With regard to the three persons, examples occur of all three, both in the singular and plural; but only in the present and imperative tenses. Thus present tense 1st sing. bhanámi (I, 20.22), vemmi (III, 3); 2nd sing. si"thou art" (II, 18) ; 3rd sing. eti (I, 12), achehhati (II, 1), gachchhati (II, 4. 10), bháti (II, 2ै2), hoti (III, 31), havati (III, 39) ; 1st plur. bhanámo (II, 27); 3rd plur. jalanti (I, 12). Again imperative tense, 2nd sing. passa " see thou" (I, 12), 3rd sing. rakkhatu (I, 3), 2nd plur. nisámetha (II, 26), 3rd plur. ralkchantu (I, 4).

These examples also show traces of the existence of verbal classes. Thus bhavati, jalanti (Skx. jvalanti), etc. are of the Ist class; eti, bhd́ti, vemmi.
(Skr. vachmi) of the IInd class; lijjante (Skr. liyante) is of the IVth class; nisámetha (Skr. niṣdmayata) of the Xth class.

The passive may be formed in two ways, either by assimilating the suffix $y a$ to the preceding consonant, or by changing it to $j j a$ if preceded by a vowel, or to ioja if preceded by a consonant (III, 25). Thus 3rd sing. pres. disate for Skr. drisyate "it is seen" (II, 5), dajjhate for Skr. dahyate "it is burnt" (III, 1) ; again najjate for Skr. jñáyate "it is known" (III, .25), váhijjate for Skr. vádhyate " he is troubled" (III, 25).*

The causal is formed by means of the suffix $e$, as in the 2nd plur. imper. nisámetha for Skr. niṣámayata.

As to the participles, see the following section.
Conjugation of bhan "spoak".
Present tense.


Imperative.

| Sing. 2nd | भएा | भए। | भ原 | भए |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 rd | भएয়' | भएतु | अएतु | भणाड |
| Plur. 2nd | भएत | भएक्य | भएथ | भएग |
| 3 rd | भएक्न | भएंत्रु | भ एांतु | भरांतु |



* MS. A in II, 25 has the curious reading sádiyyantam (see Appendix), which raises a doubt, whether $y y$ may not possibly be the correct reading throughout for $\ddot{j}$; the latter being due to the Revisionists. The reading $y y$ would well agree with sútra III, 25 (nayyate, váliyyyate) ; though, no doubt, sútra III, 15 may account for the change of $y y$ to $j g$.

Causal.

| Person. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. 3rd | भाज़्रात्यत | भाएोति <br> भार्पेति | भालेति <br> (भषार्पेति?) | भाऐयद |

The following specialities may be noticed: the root hava "be" may be optionally contracted to ho ; e. g., hoti "it is" (III, 31) ; so also in Páli (see Minayef, p. 113). Again the root as "be" drops its initial $a$ in the 2nd pers. sing. si "thou art" (II, 18). The roots grah "take" and "car "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, ginhati " he takes" (III, 23), karati "he does". (see App. B C D, III, 3).

## 9, SUFFLXES.

## a, Participial.

a, anta (Skr. at) forms the participle present of the parasmaipada verbs and optionally of the átmanepada. Thus arahanto (II, 1l) for Skr. arhan; pass. bhijjantam (II, 25) for Skr. bhidyamánam.
b, mána forms optionally the participle present of the átmanepada verbs; e. g., sáhijjamánann (App. A, II, 25) for Skr. sádhyamd́nam.
c, ta forms the participle past of the passive; e. g., Ratam (Skr. krtam, I, 23), sutam (Skr. şrutam, III, 2), palátam (Skr. paláyitam, I, 23), etc. After consonants it inserts $i$ or is assimilated : thus osaritam (Skr, apasaritam, II, 23), dittham (Skr. drishtam, I, 27).
d, tavva (Skr. tavya) forms the participle future passive. Thus sotavvam (Skr. şrotavyam, III, 2), Kátavvam (Skr. kartavyam, II, 4. III, 9, 29).
e, ttá or ttu (Skr. tvá) form the conjunctive participle. Thus bhottum (Skr. bhuctctá, II, 19, final anusvára by II, 15), or, with connecting vowel $i$, vandittá and vandittu (Skr. vanditvá, II, 19). Sometimes toá forms chchá and titu by assimilation"; e. g., suchchd (Skx. ssrutvá, II, 19) ; kattu (Skr. Krtvá, II, 19) ; or even ppi, as in lcappi (Skr. Krtud, II, 19, cf. gappi of gam in the Apabhramsa, H. C. IV, 442).
f, o (or rather io) may form the conjunctive participle; e. g., vandio (Skr. vanditvá, II, 19).*

[^21]g, tuina or ttúna (Skr. tvána) forms the conjunctive participle; e. g., bhottúna (Skr. bhuktvá, II, 19), Zátúña (Skr. kṛtvá, II, 5).

## b, Nominal.

ála and illa derive nouns expressive of possession. Thus jadúllo or jadillo (Skr. jataván) II, 20.

## 10, Indechinables.

a, naï, cheya or chiya (Skr. eva) express emphasis (II, 17). After short vowels $c h$ is doubled; thus tam cheya, but sa chchiya.
b, piva, viva, viya, vva, va (Slkr. iva) express likeness (II, 22); thus gimho viya, Kamalam viva; but piva apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvára, e. g., chandanam piva (cf. pi). The Sanskrit form iva also occurs, e. g., chamaram iva.
c, jahd (Skr. yathd) also expresses likeness (II, 22); e. g., jahd sankho.
d, $p i$ (Skr. api) expresses addition or emphasis (II, 18), thus Katam pi, suro pi.
e, khu (Skr. khalu) expresses emphasis (II, 24) ; thus evam tchu.
f, tá or táva. (Skr. távat) and jáva (Skr. yd́vat) express measure (II, 21) ; e. g., tá vichohhinnam, táva gambinirá, jáva lijjante. The abbreviated form já does not occur. See pronominal adjectives, p. li.
g , iya (Skr. iti) indicates a quotation (II, 28) ; e. g., iyc evam.
h , o (Skr. ava or apa) is a prefix (II, 23) ; e. g., ohasitam (Skr. avahasitarn), osaritam (Skr. apasaritam).

## ANALYSIS OF CHANDA'S SU'TRAS

## On Nominal Dedeension, I, 3. 5-10.*

The plan on which these suttras are arranged is to notice first all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, though modified in accordance with the general phonetic laws of Prakrit. These forms are enumerated in sútra $I, 3$.

Secondly, all those forms which are peculiar to Prákrit and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskritic forms are cnumerated in the sútras I, 5-16.

The following table will show at a glance this cardinal division of the Prákrit declensional forms :

* A brief analysis of the second and third chapters of Chanda has already been given; see pp. viii-x, xxiy-xxxi,

|  | masc. | bases. | masc. | $u$ bases. | fem. $a$, | , $u$ bases. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. | Sansls. | Prák. | Sansk. | Prák. | Sansk. | Prák. |
|  | Nom. | - | Nom. |  | Nom. |  |
|  | Acc. | - | Acc. |  | Acc. |  |
|  | Instr. | - | Instr. |  | $\square$ | Instr. |
|  | - | ABL . | - | Abl. | $\square$ | Abl. |
|  | - | Gen. | - | Gen. | - | Qen. |
|  | - | Loc. | - | Loc. | $\square$ | Loc. |
| Plur. | Nom. |  |  | Nom. <br> Acc. | $\cdots$ | Non. |
|  |  | ACC. | - |  |  | Acc. |
|  |  | INSTR | Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$ | INSSTR. $\frac{1}{2}$ | - Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$ | INSTR. $\frac{1}{2}$ |
|  |  | $A B L$. | - | $A B L$. | - | $A B L$. |
|  | Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$ | GEN. $\frac{1}{2}$ | Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$ | $G E N N^{\frac{1}{2}}$ | Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$ | GEN. $\frac{1}{3}$ |
|  | Loc. | - | Lroc. | $\square$ | Loc. | - |

The forms in the Sanskrit columns are those which Prákrit shares with the Sanskrnt; those in the Prakrit columns are the forms peculiar to Prákrit.

Now it will be observed (1) that in the Prakrit columns the only forms which are wholly alike for all three kinds of bases (in $a, i, u$ ) and for all three genders are those of the instrumental, ablative and genitive plural ; indicated by capital italics.
(2). The only forms which are wholly alike for all three kinds of bases in the feminine gender are those of the instr., abl., gen., loc. singular and the nom. acc. plural indicated by small italics. (In the other genders, the same forms are not alike for the three kinds of bases.)
(3). The only forms, which are wholly alike for the bases in $i$ and $u$ in the masculine gender are those of the abl. sing. and nom. and acc. plural; indicated by ordinary type.
(4). The only forms which are partially alike for all three kinds of bases in the masculine gender are those of the genitive and locative singular ; indicated by small capitals. (In the gen, sing. the suffix ssa, and in the
loc. sing. the suffix mmi, are common to all bases in $a, i$, $u$, while the suffix no of the gen. is confined to bases in $i$ and $u$, and the suffix $e$ of the loc. to bases in $\alpha$.)
(5). The only forms which are peculiar to the bases in $a$ in the masolsline gender are those of the abl. sing. and the acc. plural ; indicated by large capitals. (This is the converse of No. 3.)

The principle in the above explained order is to proceed from the most general to the most particular forms. It will be seen at once that it is this principle on which the sutitas I, 5-16 are arranged. We have first (by No. 1) sátras on the instr., abl. and gen. plural of all genders (lingát parasya, I, 5-8) ; secondly (by No. 2) saitras on the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., and the nom. and acc. plural of the feminine (striyám, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No. 3) sútras on the abl. sing. and nom. acc. plural of the masculine ( $p$ wnmsi, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No. 4i) sútras on the gen. and the loc. singular of masculines (pumsi, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No. 5) sátras on the abl. sing. and acc. plur. of the masculine (pumlinge, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sútras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatioal. usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chanda commences with the sutra on the gen. plur., because the gen. plur. has two forms for all three kinds of bases (in $a, i, u$ ), one of which it has in common with Sanskrit (see Sanskrit column). This is indicated by the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$. The gen. plur., therefore, is the natural link between the Sanskritic cases, treated in sútru I, 3 , and the Prákritic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sútra on the iustr. plur., because this case has its form in common with Sanskrit, with the exception of masc. bases in $a_{i}{ }^{*}$ Lastly comes the sútra on the abl. plural

[^22]which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision - Chanḍa commences with the sútra on the nom. and acc. plural, instead of that on the abl. singular, simply because the sutita ( $\mathrm{I}, 10$ ) which immediately precedes it referred to the nom. and acc. plux.; a circumstance which saves the repetition of the term jasssusoh. Lastly in the fifth subdivision, Chanḍa places the acc. plur. before the abl. sing., because the usage of native grammarians is to treat of the accusative (or second case), whether plural or singular, before the ablative (or fifth case) ; though another reason may have been, that sútras $I, 15$ and $I, 16$ on the $a$-bases are parallel to the sútras $I, 11$ and $I, 12$ on the $i$ - and $u$-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sútras. That the sútras $\mathrm{I}, 5-10$ refer to any of the three kind of bases (in $a, i, u$ ) is shown by the absence of any limitation in their terms as well as (in some of them) by their examples. But sútras $I, 11,12$ are, as far as their terms are concerned, equally unlimited; yet they are only applicable to bases in $i$ and $u$. How is this to be known? The limitation is ingeniously indicated in two ways; 1 , by the examples; these are only taken from bases in $i$ and $u$; the example of the a-base will be found in sútra $I, 3$; thus indicating, that the $a$-base forms its nom. plur. not by the rule $I, 11$, but by the rule $I, 3$. Secondly, there is the special sútra $I$, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sútra $I, 11$ and shows that the $a$-base forms its acc. plur. not by the rule I, 11 but by the rule I, 15. The sútra I, 11 being thus limited to the $i$ - and $u$-bases, the statra I, 12, of course, is equally limited to those bases by the well-known grammatical usage of vartanam or "implication."* Moreover the same implication is carried on to sútras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term atah "fafter $a$-bases" in sútra $\mathrm{I}, 15$. At the same time, the two sútras I, 13 and I, 14 are only partially applicable to bases in $i$ and $u$; for they partially refer also to bases in $a$. How is

[^23]this again to be known? The reply is the same as before; by the examples. In sútra $I, 13$ the examples of the $i$ - and $u$-bases give two forms of the genitive, but that of the a-base gives only one form, this indicating that the $a$-base does not form a genitive in no, but only one in ssa. Similarly in sútra I, 14 the examples of the $i$ - and $u$-bases give only one form of the locative each, while the examples of the $a$-base give two forms; thus showing that the loc. in $e$ does not belong to the $i$ - and $u$-bases, but only to the $a$-base.* It hardly needs adding, that in sútra $I$, 16, of course, the term atah is again "implied" from the preceding sútra; though its limitation to the $a$-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix dut (instead of $\bar{n}$ asi) used in the sútira.

To return to the Sanskrit columns; they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prákrit columns, and which are " sams $\bar{c} \mathrm{c}$ ittavach," that is, the same as in Sansknit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prákrit phonetic laws (II, 1, 4, 10, 11). These forms are:-
(1.) The nom, and acc. singular of all three kinds of bases (in $a, i, u$ ) and of all three genders; thus Skr. nom. sing grámah, Ár. gámao (II, 10) = gámo (II, 1; cf. Kachch. II, 1, 32. p. 48) ; or Skr. pztham, Ár. pidha + am = piḍham (II, 1; of, Pánini VII, 1. 24. in Laghu Kaumudí, p. 83) or Skr. agnih, Ár. aggi (II, 10) ; or Skredadhi, Ár. dahi (II, 10; cf. Panini VII; 1. 23. in L. K. p. 85) ; or Slrr. nadir, Ár. naí; or Skr. vadhúh, A'r. vahú (II, 10). Acc. sing. Skr. grámam, Ár. gáma-am= gámam (II, 1 ; cf. Pánini VI, 1, 107 in L. K. p. 47) ; or Skr. agnim, Ár. aggi $+a \underline{m}=\operatorname{aggim}$ (cf. Pánini ibid.) ; or Skr. gangám, Ár. gangám; or Skr. nadím, Ár. naim, etc.
(2.) The nom. plural of masculine and neuter bases in $a$; thus Skr. deváh, Ár. devá (II, 10) ; or Skr. Kuláni, Ár. Tculuini or Kculáni (III, 16).

[^24](3.) The instr. singular of masc. and neuter bases in $a$; thus Skr. devéna, Ár, devena (III, 16).
(4.) The instr. plural of all bases in $i$ and $u$ and of all three genders; thus Skr. agnibhih, Ár. aggihi (II, 10. III, 13), or Skr. nadibhih, Ár. naihi, etc. The Skr. suffix bhih drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes $b h$ to $h$ by III, 13. The Arsha form, therefore, is perfectly regular; but as the $a$-bases also take $h i$ (for $S k r$. $a i \hbar$ ), it is given as the general suffix of the instr. plur. in I, 7. Sce the footnote on page lvii.
(5.) The gen. plural for all three kinds of bases (in $a, i, u b$ ) and for all three genders; thus Skr gránánám, Ár, gáma + nam = gámáṇam (I, 5. II
 $n a \underline{m}$ by $\mathrm{I}, 5$; but $n a m$ consists of the augment $n$ and the real suffix am, and the final vowel of the base gama becomes long $\alpha$ before the initial vowel of the suffix am, by II, 1).
(6.) The loc. plur. of all three kinds of bases (in $a, i, u$ ) and of all three genders; thus Skr. deveshu, Ár. deva-su = devesu (cf. Pánini VII, 3, 103 in L. K. p. 50), or Skr. agnishu, Ár. aggisu (III, 18), or Skr. nadishu, Ár. naisu, etc.

It will be observed, that these forms are precisely those which are enumerated by Chaṇ̣a in sútra $I, 3$.

In MS. B a few additional forms are given in sútra I, 3, which, however, do not materially affect the above given explanation. They occur in the acc. plur., and abl. gen. and loc. singular. They may possibly be original portions of the sútra, as some of the pronominul forms are very old tatsamas (tasmim, tvayi, etc.). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But gangd, tumhe and amhe in the ace. plur. and game, kule in the loc. sing. are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sutra, as the former forms come under sútra $I, 10,15$, the latter under sútra $I, 14$. For this reason and because the standard MS. A omits them, I have relegated all these additions to the Appendix B C D.

## ON THE CHANGE OF DENTAL $N$ TO CEREBRAL $N$.

 Postscript to pp, xxv, xxvi.The only instances in which the Ársha shows an almost uniform use of the cerebral $n$, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, are suffixes and particles. Thus there are the declensional suffixes nac or ná of the instr. sing. ( $I, 3$ ), no of the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. (I, 11, 12), $n i$ of the nom. plur. neut. ( 1,4 ), $n a$ (or nam) of the gen. plur. ( $\mathrm{I}, 5$ ). Again the derivative suffixes tuna (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and
ttana (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle nä̈ (II, 17, but never the negative na). In all these cases Sanskrit, whenever it has a corresponding form, uses the dental $n$.

In the case of bases of nouns or verbs, the tendency of the A'rsha is just the other way. Here the dental $n$ is almost uniformly usod; there are exceptions in which the cerebral $n$ occurs, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound ; but there is no apparent principle in these exceptions; for the same word is at one time spelled with dental $n$, at anotber, with cerebral n; e. g. ndnam (III, 6), but nanam (III, 19) ; dhannam (B OD, III, 27), but dhannam (III, 16).

Even as regards suffixes and particles, there is no absolute uniformity of spelling with cerebral $n$. Especially is this want of perfect uniformity striking in MS. B. Thus it has instr. sing. devena in I, 3, nełena in II, 27 ; nom. plur. kuldani in I, 3 (but deváni in I, 4) ; gen. plur. deváncuñ in I, 3 (but buddhinam, nainam, etc.) and no in the sútra of I, 5 (but na in all examples) ; ttana in II, 29 (in the comment, but ttanca in the sutra and in all examples) ; naï in II, 17 (in the sútra, but naï in the comment, and in all "examples). There are only three cases in which MS. B has uniformly the cerebral $n$; viz, in the instr. sing. suffix nd ( $\mathrm{I}, 3$ ), the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. suffix no ( $\mathrm{I}, 11,12$ ), and in the derivative suffix túnce (II; 19). In the MS. A there are only two instances of want of uniformity; viz., the nom. plur. kutáni in I, 3 (but deváni in I, 4), and naï in II, 17 (only in the sútra). In most cases, probably, this want of uniformity is to be ascribed to the carelessness of the writers or copyists of the MSS. But in the case of the nom. plur. neuter (where both MSS. A and B agree) and, probably, of the instr. sing. of $a$-bases (which MS. B uniformly spells with dental $n$ ), I am inclined to believe that both ways of spelling (with $n$ or $n$ ) are correct. It will be noticed that in these two cases the A'rsha forms are tatsamas, while in the others they are, more or less, decided tadbhavas." This would account for the change of the dental $n$ into the cerebral $n$ being more firmly established in the latteer than the former cases; in the case of the instr. sing, suffix nás the tendency to that change has even prevailed over the tatsama character of the suffix.

That there was such a tendency to the preferential use of the cerebral $n$ in Prákrit (at least in the Western Prákrit), there can be no doubt; evidence of it, in the modern Western Gaudian, can still be observed. And that it assumed somewhat larger dimensions in later Paákrit times, is clearly shown by the statements of Hemachandra in his Grammar (already referred to on p . xxvi). But there can be no doubt that, in the main, this tendency affected tadbhava forms and words only, and that in the living language, the vornacular Prákrit, it never assumed those large and uniform
dimensions, which are taught in the Grammars of Vararuchi and others, and are exhibited in the dramatic and other non-Jaina literature. The state of the modern Western Vernaculars of India renders it doubtful whether, even in the far more limited dimensions taught by Hemachandra, the tendency ever existed in the vernacular Prákrit. That, as soon as the vernacular Prákrit was used for literary purposes, any such tendency should become slightly more accentuated, by being subjected to uniform rules, is but natural and a phenomenon attending the literary cultivation of all languages. But that exaggeration of it, which characterises the non-Jaina grammars and literature of Prákrit, is clearly the outgrowth of a scholastic pedantry and a mark of utter artificialness. In my opinion, the so-called Jaina Prákrit and the so-called Máháráshṭrí Prákrit merely differ in so far as that the former is the natural, the latter the artificial literary, representative of the vernacular Western Prákrit. The Jain community, always very strong in Western India, employed their vernacular as the language of their sacred writings; and the literary language, thus formed, naturally kept more or less close to its vernacular prototype ; for otherwise it would have defeated its own object of serving as the vehicle of conveying religious instruction to the masses. The Brahmanicul opponents of the Jains, who had no need to be guided by any such consideration, and who employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prakkrit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization.

There are other evidences, making in the same direction, which however I can here only briefly refer to, as the subject' is not strietly within the seope of the present work. One is the so-called $y$ ca-sruti, mentioned on p . vii. In Prákrit there is a tendency to elide medial single consonants. There is no difficulty in pronouncing the resultant hiatus, when the latter of the two meeting vowels is $i$ or $u$; for then the vowels practically tend to combine ( $a+i=a i$ or $a y, a+u=o$ or $a u$, etc.). But if the second vowel' is $a$, there is some awkwardness in pronouncing the hiatus, especially if both vowels are $a$ ( $a+a$ or $a+d$, etc.). Hence a tendency arose in the vernacular Prákrit to overcome the awkwardness by sounding the semivowel $y$ (or sometimes $\dot{v}$ ) between the hiatus-vowels (ay $a=a+a$, iy $a=i+a$, wya or $w v a=u+a$, etc.) ; a tendency the operation of which explains the origin of many modern Gaudian forms and which is still observable in the present day. When, however, the vernacular Prákrit came to be cultivated by the Jains, another tendency, apparently, arose, of looking upon the $y$ a-sruti as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandra, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prákrit, allows the ya-sruti only in the more difficult
case of the hiatus between two $a$ (H. C. I, 100). The non-Jain cultivators of Prálkrit (e. g., Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Máháráshṭrí Prákrit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the ya-sruti altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prálrit rule of eliding medial consonants and thus creating hiatuses.

Another evidence is the curious rule of Chanda (II, 2), that the first of two hiatus-vowels is elided, if the" second is followed by a conjunct consonant.* Hence arise such words as devindo for devendo; Keatujjoo for katojjoo. This rule is utterly ignored by the grammarians of the later literary Prákrit, both the Jaina and the Máháráshṭrí. Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prákrit, for it is still observed in the present day (e. g., in Hindí joginda, narinda, as well as jogenda and narenda). The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prákrit was probably this. In the later Prálrit a tendency arose to change $i$ and $u$ to $e$ and o respectively before conjunct consonants (see Vr. I, 12, 20. H. O. I, 85, 116); a practice apparentiy unknown to the older Prákrit of Chanḍa. The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (devinda and devenda; Kauijoo and kaojjoo) ; of these forms those with e and o (devenda and kaojjoo) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (devendra, Tritodyoga) much more nearly than the others with $i$ and $u$. Hence the latter forms, together with the rule which produced them, came evidently to be looked upon as vulgarities and accordingly as things to be avoided. But that is an incorrect view; and that the forms with $i$ and $u$ are the older of the two (those with $a$ and $o$ being in fact, in many cases, modifications of the older forms in $i$ and $u$, and not direct derivatives of their Sanskrit counterparts) is proved by the practice of the modern Vernaculars, in which both forms often occur side by side.

## ON THE TREATMENT OF MEDIAL SINGLE CONSONANTS.

 Postscript to pp. xxvi and xxviii.The remark as to the permissive character of Chanda's rules, of course, also applies to his rulc III, 34. It is not to be supposed that in the Prákrit of Chanda's time the somant consonants were uniformly elided, any more than that the surds were uniformly preserved. But just as the latter were occasionally softened to the corresponding sonants (see Ch. III, 12), so the former were occasionally retained. But I think the existence of the rule III, 35 (on the $y a$-sruti), which provides for the treatment of a particular

[^25]kind of hiatus, shows that such hiatuses must have been sufficiently common to require that rule; and since hiatuses could only arise by the elision of sonant consonants, it is clear that such elision was a common occurrence. I conclude therefore, that in the Príkrit of Chanḍa's time, as regards surd consonants, preservation was the regular practice, while as regard sonants, elision was the rule ; in both cases, there might be exceptions; but Chanḍa's grammar, clearly, was formulated so as to suit the generality of phenomena, leaving exceptional or less general phenomena to be provided for by the permissive character of his rules. This is the point of view I have followed in editing and, where nocessary, restoring his Grammar. It may be added that rules, like Ch. III, 31. II, 21, 23, also point to a greater tendency towards detrition on the part of the sonants, than on that of surd consonants.

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#     

$11{ }^{(8)}$ )्रय जमेय नवनंबति: स्वराए। ॥

## 







 6 जजः)। हज्नानां रनखाः (iii, 19 जनः)। लोपे द्विलं (iii, 24 नवः )। एदोद्रल्डोपा विसर्ज्जनीय््य (ii, 10 जन्नंशा)। सराएां सरे परे० (ii, 1 ) जन्नो॥ ॥ C माचा का त्रविशेषः स्याद्र वा षचिस्पन्टनश्रमांकालः। खीलिंगे॥ ** C नित्यं। नपुंसके।।
(3) C prefixes $\hbar_{0}=80$; the same number occurs in the same place in a MS. of the Jain work tatvárthádhigamam molcshaṣástram, in my possession; D pref. © $=60$. (p) C बों नमः सिब्देम्यः D बों बमः सिदं ॥ (叉) So A ; CD read खागझेडन्नादिमझ्येषु लक्यः स्यात् स सुभाषितात्; $\mathbf{B}$ om. the second verse altogether. (y) So $A$; $B C D$ om. this clause, (y) B om. this sutra, giving only the commentary. (\&) Bom. (o) B निघा॥ (■) ADom. (c) ABom. (々०) So
 जक्षा। (? ? A B om.
 कोगमल्लं( ${ }^{(\theta)}$ । दूत्यादि ॥ देशीप्रमिद्धूं( ${ }^{(\alpha)}\left(\mathrm{CD}^{(\xi)}\right)$ । तच्च चेदें ॥ हर्षि-
 द्वत्यादि II
$112 \|$ लिंग च(E) 11 २ ॥
 गंगा ${ }^{(?)}$ ) । कुलं॥

॥ 3 ॥ तक्षात् कंक्षातवद्र् विभनयः॥ ₹ ॥





 खघधभानां (iii, 13)॥
 CD add कमलं॥ (y) B देशीयप्रसिद्धमु; it may be noted here, that A B not uncommonly write म् or $\boldsymbol{\text { fु for a final anusvara at the end of a clause or sentence. }}$ (द) CD om. the remainder, in the place of which they bave a different reading; see Appendix C D. (0) A om. Sanskrit. (b) A पुदं चरिबाद्यदुलो।. (c) B चमु ॥ (१c) A B निषा ॥ (११) A D om., B चिः्रकारं ॥ (१९) D adds Skr. देवः ॥
 A B C D read finalí and $\dot{u}$, where the text has $i$ and $u$, and C D add the Skr. translations देवः ₹म्मः। रिपुः। बुखिः। घेनि:। नदी। वहा। पोठः। दधि।












* C गंगं गंगां। खते खराएां॰ (ii, 1 छेन्-्चम् or हैनम्)। खरो॰ (ii, 4 बेनुम्)। बदागये० (ii, 11 घेनु)॥ $\ddagger{ }^{\circ}$ रुष्माभिः। युक्यदों घस्य तः (iii, 17 त्रु्माभिः)। रकषाएां स: (iii, 18 तुक्माभि:)।

 बेसां)। खोंगड्योडन्यम्य (ii, 4) छूल्यनेन षाम् द्रति सिं भवति। तेसिं॥


 confusedly बुदिं। जस्ं। घेनुं। पौठं। ममं। लां। मां तं रक्बझ्यो, om. the rest of the examples of the acc. sing.; C D add the Skr. translations देवं।

 $B$ om. (११) A B पौठं ॥ (१२) A reads ख्वा मां तै र०, B C खां मां तां ₹० मं र०, D


 this example ; A om. this and the remaining examples of the instr. plur. ; CD add the Skr. translations चम्मिभिः। रिपुभिः। बुदिभिः। नदीfिः। दधिभिः। मषुभिः।

 see App. BCD. (२घ) $B$ देवानां (see i, 5) ; D adds Skr. देवानां॥ (p?) D बु॰॥ ( pO ) A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen. plur.; C D हैषापां II


 द्वायादि( ${ }^{(\text {e })}$ ॥

एषां लिंगानां कचिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जस्र्( ${ }^{\circ}$ ) ॥ विज्जुलाけ। देवाना(RQ) रक्लेत्त्(PY) 11

(१4) सागमस्यायेगडनागमस्यापि एकारो भर्वति हो वा॥ 末तालं तांहं ॥



* C ब्वत्ययः। विपर्घंयः $11+C$ विज्ञुणा। विद्युत्त् । घर्गाद्र० (iii, 5 विद्दु)। तवर्गोस्य० (iii, 16 विजु)। लोपे० (iii, 24 विन्मु)। एत

 कर्म्मयां। सरितां। युख्मांक ॥
(१) A om., D देवेष्तं; B prefixes Skr. देवेषु ॥ (p) A B कर्गौजु, CD









I, $\left.6^{a}-10.\right] \quad$ || विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं ॥ '
संख्याया: परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप्य् अ्रामेत एहो भवति ॥ (C D) । * पंचएहं । †तीसएहं( $\left.{ }^{( }\right)$। द्वत्याद्यि ॥


बिंगात् परस्य भिसो हिं(२) भवति ॥ देवेहिं†। गाभेन्हिं(३)। (CD)॥


लिंगात् परस्य भ्यसे ${ }^{(\text {( })}$ हिंते भर्वति ॥ गामेहिंते $\mathrm{I}^{(\text {है })}$ । सिद्धे-
 च्रम्हे हिंतेत ${ }^{(? P)} \|$

तृतीयादीनां टा ङसिङम्स्डिन्वचनानां स्त्रियं ए भर्वति॥ गंगाए\& ।



 (iii, 9 निंशत्)। बनुसारो॰ (ii, 15 तिश्त्)। खरो॰ (ii, 4 तौक्त्)। रसषाएं स: (iii, 18 तोषत्त्)। नस्य च दूत्य् बनेन तलोप: (iii, 33 तौस)। संख्याया पह: (i, 6 तौसणह)। बनुखारो० (ii, 15 तोस सहें)॥ $\ddagger \mathrm{C}$ देवेचिं। देवेःः § C गंगाए। गंगया। गंगाया: गंगायाः। गंगायां॥ \| $C$ तौए ताए। तया तस्याः तस्याः नस्यां ॥

 prefixes पार्मेय्यः प (0) A सिद्धोरिंतेr, B सिद्धाचंतित ; CD read देवेषिंते and add



 $B$ जसक्षेः ॥

 घेनूउ घेनू। नर्दंज्रेा नर्द्रड नर्द**। एवं घसेाडपि ॥
11. $100^{2}\|(C D):\|^{0+7} \|$

 क्राग्गी (C)। गुरू ॥







* O does not give the Sanskrit equivalent of any of these examples; but, instead of it, the two numbers 13 and 23 are inscribed over each form; thus कालाब्ये ॥ $\dagger \mathrm{C}$ याद्धश: पूर्वंश्रब्दस्य खरसाद्या एव कत्तिब्यः ॥i $\ddagger \mathrm{C}$ चयम्मयः
 IT B मुनेः रुपं ॥
 (i) भवंति। लोपो भवति॥ (8) A has final कीँ, and $D$ has final $\nabla$, instead of को, in all examples; exc. D एर्द्धचा; B places माल्वाज सालाखे and so on throughout. ( $($ ) $B$ वु० in all three examples. (६) ACD \#ू for नू in all three examples.
(o) B पूर्व्ववत् ॥ ( ${ }^{(n)} \mathrm{A}$ om. (c) CD prefix देवा ॥
 सख॥ (2y) A र्येए ए: \| (2y) A om.

I, 14-16.] \| विभक्निविधानं प्रथमं ॥
0
 सेाह्वां। (CD)॥

 (द) गुर्मिद्मी॥ ${ }^{(0)}$ गामे गामन्मि ॥

 वंभष्ष ( $(?) \|$












(l) $A$ reads पस्म (see $i, 12$ ); $B C D$ रूवं $\|$ ( $p$ ) $C D$ रुवं ; $A B$ om. मुणिस्स

 गुबए, C गुख्य; but not A B. (o) CD prefix देवे। देवf्मि ॥ (Б) B om. this sútrai and̉ its commentary. (c) A क्षतो ख्रकाराद्ध ॥ (३०) D शञ: ॥ (१२) A बैभाष (see ii, 15). (३९) $\triangle B C D$ read बोज ${ }^{\circ}$ for तोगु०, and $C D$ insert निं after ©; B has the marginal note हिं नुटि ॥ (? ) A पंचमी चागत चार्दे०, B पंच
 the long $a$ is changed to $a$ by yellow pigment. (२y) B ज्यादेगातकारस्य ॥ (३乡)
 गय $\mathrm{Tr}^{(y)}{ }^{(y)}$

तद्ञ ${ }^{(0)}$ द्दम् अनयेर् एकर्वद्वद्वबहत्वेषु स्लीपुंनपुंसकेषु यद् रूपं तस्य

 प्रमि द्रम्टव्या: (2世) ॥


## 

* C गगनात्। कगष्व० (or करटतौय॰ iii, 34) हूत्यनेन गकारस लोपः (गष्वन)।





 च्र्द्यस्य रुपािए॥ तुमं। तुन्मे१॥ तुए or तुरं। तुक्ये॥२॥ बे or तुमे or तद


 or तुन्देषुं ॥ थ॥
 with $\vec{a}, \mathrm{~B} \mathrm{CD}$ गध्राब्यो। गयसाज (with á). (घ) A गयएनितोता (with ă) ; it also adds गयसानचं (with á), while B C D prefix it. (e) C D add एवं देवाट्रः ॥
 $B \subset D$ रुबं $\|$ ( $\imath^{\circ}$ ) $A B C$ गुणा Il (११) $A D$ गुषा: ॥ (३२) $A B$ om. the two last examples. (२ऐ) ABCD 区वं \| (२y) D om. this example, but, on the other
 (20) So in MS., as mase.

I, 19-22.] ॥ विभत्तित्विधानं प्रथमं ॥
$\varepsilon$

चुष्मच्छब्द््य सविभत्ते: सौ परत:(२) तुमं भ्रादेशो भवति॥ (३)तुमं देवेर ${ }^{(y)}\|(\mathrm{CD})\|$

युष्मदोग श्रमि परे ( ${ }^{(9)}$ तुमं भवति तुए च। सविभके: 11 तुमं भएामि*


 स्रूा ${ }^{(\text {Q })}$ ) 11

 भणामि( ${ }^{(\vartheta)}$ ॥


 here gives the same gloss as the preceding, omitting only the initial खर्ग०॥
(1) C reads तं तु तुवं तुछं॥ तुंमं सो स०; $D$ तं त्रुं तुवं तुर्पंतुमं सौ स०॥ (p) CD read पहत एते पंच चादेश्रा भबंनत॥ ॥ (३) C reads नं तु तुवं तुछं ॥ ल्बं तुकं द्हिए।॥ (y) C दिठो, D द्ट्रिो ॥ (y) CD place this sútra after the following.
 D place this example before the other, and add तं भएाfि ॥ (c) OD plaee this sủtra before the preceding one. (2०) So $B, A$ तुम्बे, $C$ तुन्हे, $D$ तुक्झे॥ (१) A places जीस परे after भवरिः (१२) So B; A मर्सासा, CD माफुस्हा; in $C$ सबुस्सा is, corrected by later hand, but the original reading' ( मा एुस्ता is supported by the marginal gloss (q. v.). (२३) $A$ हना, $B$ घूरा: ; $C D$ add

 भरामि॥



#### Abstract

युश्मद( ${ }^{(\mathrm{P})}$ टाबचने (२)परे ते तुमे तद तए एते श्रादेशा भवंति।  तर $\ddagger$ पलतनं(5) ॥











 बलोपः (जानो)। हजथानां० (iii, 19 नानो)। तवर्गास्य० (iii, 16 नाएौ)॥
(Q) B च टा॥ (₹) $\mathrm{A} C D$ ०द्ष्॥ $\quad$ (₹) A om. परे-रते incl. (y) A किन्ते॥ (4) A B CD कयं ; CD add the Skr. translations किं बया छ्षतं। ल्या हछ्₹। लया सम ( B सख्य in marginal gloss, q. v.) क्षतं। लया प्रलघं (so C ; D प्रलीवतं) ॥


 the other forms. (१४) B तुर्महिंतो, A om. (२乡) B C तुमाब्यो, D तुमाउ, A om.
 घचं ज्ञानी। लद्यु चं निष्क्रांत, $C$ om. them in the text, but gives them in the marginal gloss. ( (१) A om. त्रुमाहिंते ॥ $\quad$ (२E) B orig. संच चो, corr. सु०; D
 A. fनक्सालो, B रक्बवंतो ॥

I, 25-28.] 1 विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं ॥

युष्मदः षष्ष्येकवचने परे (₹)तुहु तुज्द्स ${ }^{(y)}$ तुम्द्र ${ }^{(4)}$ एते ग्रादेशा भवंति ।


| $25^{\circ}\|0 \mathrm{CD}\| \mathrm{P}^{24} \|$



## \| $26^{3} \|$ CD $\|$ Р点 $\|$



$\left\|26^{a}\right\| C D\|श \overbrace{}^{\circ}\|^{\pi}$
1127 |1 के भए दायां 11 ए० ।
 मए दिएंटें (ใ) । 1


* C तब शोलं। तब कलाः । तव गुषाः ॥ +B मया छतं ॥




 (३) So A; BCD मदंतो॥
 तुमं सूरेश ${ }^{(y)}$ ।

 तुमं स्रे( ${ }^{(c)} ॥$

 सीलं( ${ }^{(P)}$ । मज्ड्म गुएा ${ }^{(\text {P₹ })} \|$

 ते दोसा ${ }^{\left({ }^{\circ}\right)}$ ॥

\| I \| दूति चंडक्रते प्राहंतलन्तोलो विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं समामं ॥ २ ॥

 (8) A मदूता, BOD सहंतोाl (8) A सरर: ; B places it before तुमं; D adds
 (ㄷ) A खम्धारिन्ता, B घह्मा०.॥. (c) A घूरे $\| \quad$ (१०) B om. sútra and comment,


 दोषाः $\|$ (द工) MS. fिबं॥


## \| II \| ت्रथ स्वरविधानम् च्राह्ह ॥ २ ॥

$\left\|1^{2}\right\| \mathrm{D}\left\|\mathbb{2}^{2 \pi}\right\|$






 बकारस्य ₹ भवति (इन)। रेफः (iii, 9 दत)। प्रथम० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्स धकारः (द्य)। पुनः प्रथम॰ (iii, 11) इत्यनेन थकारस्य धकारः (ट४)। हों (iii, 13 इह)। हर द्रति सिजं 11 तिशति(१c)। कगचक्ष० (iii, 34 द्टति)। खरो० (ii, 4) दू्यनेन
 (iii, 14 बर्वात)। । लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्सिन॰ (iii, 26 बच्चति)। पुनः कगचज० (iii,




 घंद्र घमे उज्वला। चंद्रवत् जज्ञला || |||| $B$ तपसः छपरोषः। $C$ संषिः। नपोपराषःः

 गामोर गानोग। संधिः। यामात् ्याइः। but see note to translation.
(१) Bom. (२) BCD परतः॥ (३) So $A B ; C D$ प्रह्टतिलोपसंधयस्य॥ (y) $A$ has only the examples marked * and §, om. all others; B places ${ }^{*}$, $\S, \ddagger, \dagger$.
 हहागु| (द) $A$ महर्द वहिड, $B$ महद्व वर्चिय (see marginal gloss), $C D$ om. this example. (c) $B$ ०दिक, $D$ ०दिड, $A C$ om. (see ii, 2). ( (००) $B$ ०शायो, $A$ om. (29) $C D$ सर्६सरो, $B$ सद्वसरो, $A \mathrm{om}$. (१₹) $B$ तोसा, $A$ om. (१ई) $B$ गहसा, $A$ om. (88) B बंद्नला, $\mathrm{A} \circ \mathrm{m}$. (१थ) B सोढेा, C सो धढा, D भाबढा or डाउढा (?) ॥
 गामाध गामेर, O गामाउ गामेग, $D$ गामाउ गामे ॥ (८c) So MS. and accordingly

 || $1^{\mathrm{b}}\|\mathrm{D}\|^{2 \pi} \|$
| $1^{c} \| \left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}| |\end{gathered} 2^{*}\right.$








 (iii, 41 देंमितं)। सस्थ० (iii, 14 द्रेंकितं)। लोपे० (iii, 24) बस्मिन्० (iii, 26 द्रेचिति)।
 सति क् प् प् घं द्रति स्दिताः भवन्नि। रश्रा० (iii, 18 तौक्स्एं)। शान० (iii, 6 तौकसं)। शे० (iii, 4 तोसं)। चस्य० (iii, 14 नौखं)। लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 तौक्बं)।

(१) BD वु• here and afterwards. (२) BD खुन्दौदो (but see marginal


 पूर्वस्य ॥ (१९) CD place this clause before हखत्वं॥ (१३) CD संसेगगचर्च ॥ (१४) C prefixes धणाट्टो (see ii, 2); C D prefix the Skr. translations कावं। कार्यं। दंप्पितं।

 सिग्बा॥ (द) $B$ बंद्धं (see iii, 5.9), $C D$ उङ्ध ॥ (ic) $B$ कुन्ना॥






 क्षां रिएं। (CD)॥

 \|वेंस(Pe) ॥



#### Abstract

* $B$ कर्गैबं $\|+B$ स्तच केनापि सच्च न॥


(१) A कायचं, B कायष्ष, C कायब्ब, D कायं्बं (see iii, 29 and Lassen Inst, Prac. pp. 141. 365); CD add the following Skr. translations कर्ण्यं। उजनं। संगारा: ; see also $B$ in the marginal gloss. ( P ) A बसुद्धषं, D खद्धएं ॥ (民) A








 translations बेताद्यः। तेलं। मेषवं। हैें ; see also B in marg. gloss. (२E) A तेलं II: (PC) CD add मड्भा एा के प वि (see marg. gloss), (३०) MS. सुचीनों॥
 वद्वं ${ }^{(0)}$ II



 कडला। (CD)॥

एत् स्रोत् ्लोपा $\left({ }^{(P Q)}\right.$ विसर्ज्ञनीयस्य स्याने भवंति ॥, कतर्र $(P ९)$







 A जर्, B ज, D उ॥ (११) C pref. Skr. औाषषं D बषषं॥ (१२) A ऊसहं, D उसद्धं॥ (२ই) C pref. Skr. सेचलं, D सौवर्वलं ॥ (२४) A नोक्वल्वल, C सेख्लं, D सेष्चचलं :

 एद्यदले॥ याः ॥ (२०) B ०नौबस्साने॥ (p१) $B$ (corrupt) एदो दूलाया॥ (२P) $A$ कपोरे, $B$ कचाद् ; $C D$ read कयरे and pref. Skr. कतरः गच्चति॥ (₹ह) A गचर्दर्द, BCD

 $O$ D pref. Skr. पुनः बपि ; $A$ om. this example ; $B$ adds एतं दिद्ध (MS. एयं दिटुं) ॥




II, 12. 13 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ ] \| स्वरविधानं द्वितीयं ॥
20

 $\|$ सिरेषां ${ }^{(0)}$ । (CD)\|
-12॥ शा
(e)द्विवचनं बलवचनेन((30) बाचं ॥ ** हत्या। पाया । देवा । वंभबा( ${ }^{(\ell)}$ । $\mathrm{CD} \|$

 गुरूण्या (प) है



* C बंत्। बद्वागसः ॥ $\dagger \mathrm{B}$ सरित् दूति बच तकारस्य ब कागमः ॥ C सरित् ।



 नसा गुरवे दूत्यच चतुल्यों षह्हो झेचा II C नसः जिनाय। नमः गुरवे।।
 A सरिय्राषां, BCD र्זरिसाएं ॥ (g) B adds रन्मां (सम्मं?, see App. OD), D prefixes कर्मंन्, शीर्षन्, निरासा to कम्मं, सीसं, सिरेएं respectively. (y) A तीसं if
(b) B नेष, AOD om.
(o) A. om.
(द) C D बङबचनेन ॥
(c) $O D$ prefix


 MS. दुब्व० II (१८) MS. now has वंजत्यिविभक्षीए, om. बहो ; but in the place of fिथ and for there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (p०) MS. देवाहि (cf. 1, 5).




## 









 गां। गवा। गोंः। गोः। यवि (see i, 9.) । गेfिः। गोर्यःः। गवां or गोनां। गोषु ॥
(२) $C D$ insert न (see iii, 16). (२) $C$ घुतवर्षा:, $D$ घ्युतःः ॥ (ק) $C D$ read

 CD read मंब्नारो (see H. C.i, 26) and add वक्जरो (see H. C. ii, 132) ; D further adds घ्यागम ॥ (c) A om., B विन्बुण ; D has विन्दुउ with प्रद्धति after it; $\mathbf{C}$ reads विंदुए which is explained in the marginal gloss as विंदुकः। प्रत्रतिः ॥
 5), CD का काषां (see H. C.i, 27). (१叉). A काडं, B काजं (कातुं ?, see Lassen, jp. 365. H. C. iv, 214). (३ほ) C D एfिं ; D gives it as an example of लोप ; C explains it in the marginal gloss as महो; originally the gloss had नचि,


 CD add ग़ावोण। गावो। (२२) ABom . (pp) $\mathrm{A} D$ गाबेए, B गारिए॥ (p३) A


II, 17-20.] || ख्वरविधानं द्वितीयं ॥

(₹) एव शब्दार्शै एाद्द (२)चेय चिय एते कार्देशा भवंति 11 गत्या एव


 (ใ१)कतं पि। तं सि दूः ॥


 C D ॥


* $B$ तसेव $\|^{\prime}+\mathrm{B}$ स एव $\| \ddagger \mathrm{BC}$ वंदिख्वा $\| \mathrm{B}$ गुख्या। C भुत्वा ( see note $p$ ?

 (y) A C सद्र एद्द, B सर्द एर्दे, D om. whole example, C prefixes Skr, मत्या एव ॥








 A वंदिवं, D बंद्जि; OD add वंदेवि॥ (py) A एउ क०, B एषं क०; OD om, this

 फडाले $\mathrm{T}^{(0)}$ फडिल्नो ${ }^{(■)}$ । (CD)॥
|| 21. || नाताव(e) सावत: ॥ २२ ॥
तावच् बंन्द्य( ${ }^{\circ}$ ) ता तावौ( $(3)$ ) भवत्: ॥ (CD) ॥




 सायर्व( ${ }^{(80)}$ ।
* C तावत् विस्तोषाँ गगनं ताकत् एव़ नल्लधयः च गंभीराः। गावत् गुख्य सुरसेल्लः
 (ii, 4 गुरुष्मा)। प्रथभेकवचनं सिद्ध $11 \ddagger 0$ चंद्यां। मनुखारो बक्षं (ii, 15). § C तव मुखं कमलवत् (३२)।।
(2) B om., C D add ब्वाल दूस्त॥ (₹) A om. (३) A स्थः \|f (y) CD prefix Skr.
 (o) A फडालो्लो; B orig. फंडालो, but corrected to फलालो 11 ( $(\square) \mathrm{B}$ फडिले. placing $\check{\sigma}$, ©. (c) $O$ D read ता-ताव-जा-जावास्: तावद्यावनेःः॥ (३०) C D add





 prefix the Skr. translations चंद्नवत्। चभरवत् (D MS. चसरं वत्)। कमस्लत्।



II, 23-26.] \| ख्वरविधानं द्वितीयं ॥
P2



 112411 खल़ा: ${ }^{\left(8^{8}\right)}$ खु: 11 吅 II


 भिद्यमानं(३८) भिज्जंते । कथ्यमानं कथिज्ञंतं(२०) । साध्यमानं(१)) साहिन्जंति(PP) |A \|


 भे कत̈(ํ)) बया छ्वतं। CD ॥
 $\ddagger \mathrm{C}$ घंषपीछनं।I







 their own reckouing; see App. CD). (२8) B गुय्यदः श्र० ॥ (२y/ B CD add



 अर्थं: D ॥

1828 ॥ हतेर्द्धृः ॥ श ॥
॥ द्वति शम्द्य द्दूय श्राद्रेशो भवति ॥ दूय( ${ }^{(\theta)}$ एवं ॥

 $\left\|29^{9}\right\|$ CD $\left\|\mathrm{C}^{\mathrm{E}}\right\|$

 षमाम्नं( ${ }^{(0)}$ ॥ २ ॥

(Q) CD place this sútra after $\mathrm{i}, 31$ (i. e. after $\mathrm{i}, 31^{\text {a }}$ of their own reckoning, see App. CD ). (叉) $C$ D add से सर्ष्वातु॥ (३) A om. the whole commentary, instead of which it has स्पष्ट॥ $\quad$ (y) CD रोचेए ॥ $\quad$ (y) $B$ भ नुमे It
 (११) CD pref. the Skr. translations ग्रासस्स भावः। नगरस्य भावः॥ (१P) BOD



III, 1-3.] ॥ व्यंजनविधानं बतीयं ॥
॥ III ॥ च्रय व्यंजनविधानम् च्राह् ॥ ₹ ॥


 जिका ${ }^{(P)}$ जिब्मा ${ }^{(\text {Pe })}$ ॥



















 उत्पलं उप्पलं। सद्भावं सनावां। *मन्मथ: वम्मथे(ई)। पापंतं पत्तं । *पद्युम्न: पज्जुन्नो ${ }^{(0)}$ । †⿹र्कर: चक्षो। उल्का उक्षा । भास्कर: भक्वर्रो। BCD । ब्नह्मा वन्दा ${ }^{\left({ }^{( }\right)}$॥

 खमा । संवत्मर: संवच्छरो । मत्मर: मच्छरो। अप्रारा: (ใ8) च्रम्करा । देप्सितं दूच्कित (Y (Y) ॥

वर्ग्गात् परं ध्रवग्यं व्यंजनं लेपषं भवति ॥ सौख्यं सुकवं(१४)। (१९) घक्र:



वर्गपर: घपरण् च वग्गंपंचसें वा लेप्यें भवति॥ जानं नालं(९))।
 (९६) क्टाषां कएवं ॥

> * C कामः ॥ † C स्र्य्यः॥
(१) BD दपज; $A$ om. this and the following examples, except Nos. e, y

 add वर्गः: वर्गो ॥ (Б) A घंध्षा बंध्का, BCD वंभा॥ (c)ACD से, B सो॥ (२०) BC $D$ add बंज्ञनं ॥ (११) A वृच्चाँ॥ (१२) B बक्बों ॥ (१ई) A om. the remainder.

 (२c) BCD सिक्षं ॥ (२०) A CD सा, B स एध॥ (२२) A BCD षायां (see iii, 19).


$117 \|$ दो वेश ${ }^{(1)} 10 \|$
दकारे (?) वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति॥ द्वारं वारं। वेति किं। दार्ं ${ }^{(घ)} \|$

षकारात् परष्ट् टकारेा वा ${ }^{(\theta)}$ लेग्यो भवति॥ उत्हषंट्टं उक्कोंसं()।











 (c) A om. ; B उबिदं, repeating उन्दष्टं before it. ( $\left(\circ^{\circ}\right) \mathrm{B}$ om. the sutra; A रफम,




 betore the preceding one. ( $p y$ ) $B$ बेर्द, $C D$ जर्ज; but $C$ has a marginal

 घंख्षं, D बंमे, (see H. O. ii, 56). (PE) B बचं, CD वघं॥ (३०) B C D पख्यझा॥ (घ? ) So B; CD स्या ॥

 खंभो।।

वर्गएएां प्रथमद्वितीययो: स्वाने यथासंख्यं द्वितौयचतुर्थां श्राद्शैशौ(३)

 मधुरा मधुरा ${ }^{(\text {PQ })}$ । नाथ: नाधो ${ }^{\left({ }^{(Y)}\right)}$ ।


(३4) पथमस्य स्यानें ततीयो भवति॥ एकं एगं। तीर्थकर्: (१४) तित्थगरो ${ }^{(\vartheta)}$ । पिशाची पिसाजी। जटा जडा। क्वतं कद्रं(३) । प्रति-



(Q) $C D \mathrm{Dm}$. this sútra and its commentary. (p) $A$ सम्मं, $B$ सम्भा ॥ (ह) $B$

 (c) A फुरं, B पुरुसं, C परिसं, D परिसे ; BCD add भुखं मुचं (see iii, 13). (? ${ }^{\circ}$ )
 28 ; and as to ज्ञ for छ杯, see p. 20 footnote $28 ;$ p. 10, n. 7 ; p. 27 , n. 13 ; p. 30 , n.7. (१२) B दंठा, C दाढा, D द्ढा॥ (१२) A BCD सझरा ॥ (२४) A एाइए, B नाँ्छो ; C D read ब्यादिनाह्ह: बाद्याच्चे ॥ (१y) A has only the following comment,

 this example. (RQ) OD om. ख (see note cin iii, l.l.). (२२) OD om. खëाて" (२३) B ०भकार इत्येतेषां II (२४) A om. comm., up to भर्वत्व॥

III, 14-17.] \| व्यंजनविधानं ततीयं ॥


${ }^{(\ell)}$ सकारस्य स्साने खहचा ${ }^{(0)}$ भवंति ॥ मिन्ता भिक्वा। पएनुखः


(ल)यकारस्य स्थाने जकारे भवति ॥ थौवनं जुव्वलं। सूर्यः सुज्जो। याजा जत्ता ॥




 ध由 ( $\left.{ }^{\circ}{ }^{\circ}\right) \mid C D \|$



(Q) CD om. this example (see p. 26, note $\&$ in iii, 11). (P) A om. this

 (c) A only स्पष्ट, om. the whole commentary. ( $\left(^{\circ}\right.$ ) A only स्पष्ट, om. up to भवतः ॥ (११) CD रिचं ॥ (१२) B पंका with Skr. पंथा॥ (१२) BD वंबभा ; C originally $\dot{\text { बंज्जा, }}$ with marginal correction ०उभा॥ (२४) $\mathcal{O} D$ एहंध ॥ (२४) A ठिक्झ:, BCD ठिचिय ॥ (१६) A om. the remainder. (१) B दंढो, D द्डो।। (?Б) BC
 A om. up to भवति ॥ (२ŋ) A तुर्बेचि, B तुर्येच्दि; C D add कघं। युख्माभिः क्षतं॥

 (\$) यघगो ससी ${ }^{\circ}$ ) । अ्यमिषं च्रामिस ${ }^{\left({ }^{\circ}\right)}$ ।।








 11 22 (₹) च्यवधारत व्यत्यायः 11 रश ॥ (PQ)यकारवकारयोर् व्यत्यासे ${ }^{(P 币)}$ भवत्ति(P८) $\cap$ पय्यंक: पाषंको(Pण)।
(३) B ॰नां ॥ (२) A only एषां॥ (३) $B$ ०सकारष०॥ (घ) $A$ सस् स्यात्॥ $\|$ (g) B
 om. this clause. (१०) B जानं, CD ए यायं॥ (११) D स्थंभः (Prákrit थंभोग, see iii, 11). (१२) A घनसाः, B ०सा, D घण्य० ॥ (२a) A only यथासंख्यं भवंति स्पष्टं॥ (१\&)




 but $C D$ पवसेTर्, see below note PE. (₹Б) $A$ बत्ययं il (PC) $A$ स्यात्; in $C D_{\text {, }}$ here follows the example पापं पावं (see iii, 12 in App. CD), after which comes a new sútra रलयेष् बत्यास:, to which are assigned पर्य्यकः etc, as examples (see App. C D) (e) A B ॰ ॰

III, 23-25.] \| व्यंजरविधानं तृतौयं ॥

 नएमानां संबंधिनौ थौ शहौ( ${ }^{(5)}$ तयोर लेापे हकारागसे भवति।


 मघगनं॥

## i1 24 ॥ बोपे द्विलं ॥ 1 २8 ॥

 BCD। याव: वर्धो ॥

 (१)वाध्यते वारिन्जति(१)) ॥

 the MSS reading is corrupt; $\mathbf{B}$ throws sutra and commentary into one and reads घ० लो० नफ्य० धछो पदावस्यानां होग भवति; A has sपादावस्यानानां; C originally पदावस्थानानां, corrected in margin to डपदादावस्थानानां ; $D$ पदाद्यवस्थानानां n (Б) AOD सकारहकारो।। (c) B om. this clause. (?०) Conjectural; A.D read उपद्दांवस्वानानां, C घपदावस्यानानां ॥ (२१) CD पप्छा॥ (२२) B तिपहा; A adds غ स्नः कन्हो (see App. BCD). (२₹) AD जन्द्या॥ (१४) A om. the remainder, up to घंपदादाव्॥ (१थ) B ग्टह्पनि, C D गिएहद्ध॥ (२ई) CD वर्ही; B places this example after fिन्दिविया (see App. B). (२०) CD place the examples thus:



 CD बन्नए ॥
$₹^{\circ}$ II ख्यंजनविधानं ततीयं ॥ [III, 26-29.等

तस्मिन् द्विले वर्त्तमांनयोर् द्वितीय्चतुर्थयो: स्साने(P) प्रथमतृतीयौ

 वद्धमानो(११)। पुष्पं पुष्पं। जिहा जिन्मा(१) ॥







## 

क्वचित् पद्मध्येड्वसाने(२₹) च लोपे क्वते द्विवं न भवति॥ काश्यप:(२४)


 so also $C$ now ; but originally $C$ seems to have had पच्छं ॥l (₹) D साध्या ॥

 ii, 25 (as to oनो for ०था), and App. C D, iii, 16. (१२) B जिदा ॥ (११) So A ; B originally मुन्ताविशेषाषाi, but corrected by later hand into ज़क्तविश्शेषाएां; the latter is also the reading of CD (see App. B CDD). (२४) B घर्क्रा का ॥ (२u)


 (२९) D स्पूष्टा (९७) A फाडं, D पडं॥



द्वयोर् (६)व्यंजनयोर् मध्ये दूघट्टरागमेा भवति॥ च्र्मि: घ्रोगली( ${ }^{(\circ)}$ ।


 पदुमंमें (ใc) । CD ॥

घवयो:(PQ) स्याने (PP)द्धकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ चयोदश तेरह्ह (P₹)। CD । भवति हे हाति( ${ }^{\left({ }^{(9)}\right)} \|$

 पंचाघत् पन्ना(१?) ॥

(१) BCD कायब्वं; O adds काहवं ॥ (२) A शौर्षा, B शोषे, O D शीषे: ॥
 $\begin{array}{llll}\text { (see iii. 8). (\$) } B \text { repeats द्वथेग्र after ब्यं० } \| & \text { (o) } B \text { चर्गि il } & \text { (c) } A \text { विशलेष \| }\end{array}$ (c) A om. this example; BCD place it after सरियो॥ (द०) BCD रघयां॥
 probably by oversight; as it is the only instance of $B$ omitting what occurs in $\mathrm{A} C \mathrm{D}$ together. (々y) ABCD सरिसवेर; CD add वन्ं वद्दरं॥ (३ц) OD

 पजसं॥ (२०) A यृव्योर्थ. (२२) BCD यकारवकारयेःः ॥ (२२) BCD दूटुतैा॥




 (4) प्एपस ।

1134 || ${ }^{(9)}$ कलतीययो: खर् || इ8 ॥
ककारस्य वर्गाटतीयस्स च खरें ${ }^{(5)}$ परे लोपो भवति ॥ (ह) को किल : ${ }^{\left.()^{\circ}\right)}$



(३६)ककारवर्गलतीययोर् घ्व्वर्षो परे यत्वं भवति॥ CD । काका: काया। नागा: नाया ${ }^{\left({ }^{\circ}\right)}$ । BCD॥

## 




(१) A om. (२) B C D तस्स \| (b) B C D om. (y) A छोपः, om. भवfति ॥ (y) B पंचाशत्, and prefixes विंश्रति बीसा, repeating the latter by mistake from the previous sútra. (\&) $A$ पषपपास, $B D$ पएपषा, $C$ पष्वक्षा॥ (৩) $C D$ have an altogether different sútra and commentary, see App. C D. (ธ) Inserted; A B om. (\&) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). ( $\imath^{\circ}$ ) A को किल्ला ॥
 adds नूपरं ने उरं। कूपः कूष्षो (MS. कूप कूष) ; $\mathbf{B}$ adds many more examples, see
 वकर्षपरयोरेफदोरपरयोर्य्यंत्वं सात् (चवर्षों परे रतयोर् घबं स्यात्?); but C D read differently, see App. C D. (३०) CD पाया॥ (२Б) A B ॰म्सानाँ ॥ (३C) So A;
 terminate this chapter, see App. CD. (Pa) D ॰ संसे॥ (₹y) B om. sधो तेफस ॥
 घसि( ${ }^{(L)}$ ) जादि॥

 (*) दुटुलक्लक्रा पनमत( ${ }^{\circ}$ ) (११)पनयिट्टितासा ॥

मागधिकायां रेफमकारयोर् लश्थौ(१९) ज्रवतः ॥ (१४)चंद्रलनिकलं





॥ ${ }^{(\text {PQ) द्वति प्राव्टतलन्चरां संपूर्थं(P8) ॥ }}$

* Ed. वरुनं। प्रामः। ब्याप्रः ग्रसिल्बा याति \| A and Com . the interpunctuation between वo and य्रा०, B hasit; A B C have the interrpunctuation between aाo and स्रसि ${ }^{\circ}$; D om. it throughout. † Ed. बरें बरे दुष्टराचसाः प्रषामत प्रणियिस्थिता़्याः ॥i
 this example, B ब्यांः, D a्यां्रो ; C D prefix the Skr. व्याष्रः ॥ (y) CD घभि ॥
 हुठ्लक्षसा, D हुद्लक्वसा ॥ (१०) So C; A पनसत्, B पमनकतः, D पननत्रे॥ (११) A दद्विब्दारा om. पन, B पुनद्धद्धिस्मासा, O पनद्धं। ठिष्चासT, D पनदं द्विष्यासा; B explains it in the margin as Skr. पुर्णर्दिकाया: (sic), but the word is not distinctly
 कलति $\|$ कससंबनि, B in the margin explains कलति by the Skr. करोति ; OD चं०
 CD prefix the Skr. घंसः ॥ (々०) A पतुत्, B पसुने, OD om. (々Б) B CD om. this remark. (३ल) A हतो, B om. हत ॥ (२०) C D read भाषांतरविधानं चतुर्थं, making this the termination of the fourth chapter ; their third chapter terminates with sútra 36 ; see App. C D. (२q) C चतुर्थ, D तुर्यः॥ ( P ) A om. (२₹) A B D om. this remark. (₹४) Here follow various dates in the MSS. ; A माध क्षष्या ; . B



## EXPLANATION.

The MSS. C and D contain a large number of Satras and Explanatory Remarks, in addition to the text given in the preceding pages. To a very slight extent this is also the case with the MSS. A and B. Some of this addi. tional matter is found only in one MS., some other in more than one. This is indicated by the heading letters of the Appendices; thus Appendix CD gives what is common to the MSS. C and D. The places in the text to which these additions belong, are indicated by the insertion of corresponding letters; thus, on p. 21, the letter A in the commentary to Sutra: II, 25 refers to an additional remark in MS. A, given in Appendix A on p. 34; again, on p. 5, the letters $\mathbf{C}$ $D$ in Sútra $I, 6^{a}$ refer to an additional Sútra in the MSS. $C$ and $D$, given in Appendix C D, on p. 40. The words printed in red type in the Appendices refer to the words in the text, after which the additional remark is to be insertéd.

## APPENDIX A.

TO SƯTRA II, 25. ONPAGE 21.

(l) MS: सानिमाब In (Q) MS सक्षिप्पत( (?); in A the two letters य and प are ofteu ndistinguishable.

## APPENDIX B.

TO SƯTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 26:
 TO SƯTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.
 उलेर ${ }^{(4)}$ । काकेन काएए( ${ }^{(0)}$ । काक: काश्र्रो। भौगिक: भोद्दत्रो।
 त्यागेन चाएए। व्यागः चाश्रो। सुचिरं सुदूरं। एँचि: सुर्ई।




 पादुका पाउम्चा। मदेने मएए। मदः मझ्रो। कूपिका कूटश्रा। कपीनां कर्देएां। (११)नूपूरं नेउरं। रिपूएां रिऊषा। दूपेपन कूएए।



(Q) MS. निक्फिस्षं ॥ (२) MS. निम्हवयं ॥ (₹) The MS. places this example after पडरी $\mathrm{H}:$ ( ( ) This example also oscurs in D (see App. C D), (y) MS. घकुषा:

 (QP) MS, -राजिए 11 (? ?) This example also occurs in A, omitting however बन il
 MSS. गज il (२०) MS: prefixes the example सितं सिष्ष, which is repugnant to the following sútra (iii, 35) (15) MS. जंतुना जंजएए ॥ (ใc) MS. वातुलः वाजल्लो ॥



## APPENDIX C.

SU'TRA I, 11. ON PAGE 6.

## 11 ": ड

कीवे वर्त्तमानान् नाग्न: परयेत: जस्शसेत: दूंद्रत्य् भ्यद्येशो भर्वति ॥ *कमलद्ं( ${ }^{(Y)}$ मह़्नवि धलिडलद्रं करिगंडाद्रं महंति।


TO SUTRRA IL, 17. ON PAGE 22.
 घ्यस्मान् भए॥
अणनानः ॥ मे कयं मया दृतं। भे कय चस्रम्माभि: वृतं। मे लिक्किद्धो मत्
 भे दे से श्रस्माकं देश: । भे लिहिदं मयि निह्हितं। से लिखिदे ग्रस्मासु निहितं॥

 हठाल्कारेए।
(१) See H. C. IV, 353. T. V. III, 4.25. (२) The MS. has the mark of interpunctuation (1) after each word of the first line; thus कमबरं। मe ll (द) The MS. has विद्र रणर्षंन $\|:$ (8) MS. om.

## APPENDIX D.

## SƯTRA II, 1a. ON PAGE 13.


माक्टते पद्योग् चत् संधिकार्यं तत् संस्कृतान्तवद् भवति ॥
SƯTRAS II, $1^{\text {b }} .1^{10}$. ON PAGE 14.

व्यंजनसंपृत, सरो यों(P) व्यंजने बुप्ते Sविष्यते स एद्धृत दहेगच्यते। बरस्येद्धृते ख़रे परे संधिर न भवति ॥ गगनं गत्रणां। गंधकुटी गंधडडी ।


दूवर्णंस्य उवर्षास्य चास्ते वर्णां परे संधिर्ट न भवति ॥ न वैरि्वर्ग( (₹) च्रपि अवकास: । ए( $\left.{ }^{8}\right)$ वेरिवगे वि श्रवयासे ।|

TO SƯTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.




$$
\text { TO SU'TPA II, 27. ON PAGE } 22 .
$$

बर्थः ॥ा एवं सवासु विभन्तिषु ॥



## APPENDIX B C .

TO SU'TRA III, 5. ON PAGE 24.


## APPENDIX OD.

## TO SƯTRA I, 1. ON PAGE 2.

## 




 देवद्यःः ॥





## *म्नस्नरिपजरे ${ }^{(1)}$ गासे द्रस्थुलिंदाए सुम्मए मद्दो।

तह मध्चिन्नद्र चिच्षी तुहेष जह बोलए तनुंगी ॥१॥


 कूलु ॥ द्रविडदेशे। चोरू ॥ दलयादि ॥

$$
\text { TO SƯTRA I, 3. ON PAGES 3, } 4 .
$$

क्रुणांनि॥ चत्वारि चन्तारि। चत्वार: चत्तारे। चतुर: चत्छरेा( ${ }^{(\alpha)}$ ।



 TO SUTRAA I, 5. ON PAGE 4.















 बें $\|$ ( $(y) D$ चु० ॥ ( $(x) D$ मुषुष्य।

 TO SU'TRA I, 6. ON PAGE 5.
 SƯTRA I, 6a. ON PAGE 5.

लिंगात् परष् टा दूत्यस्य( $\left.{ }^{( }\right)$आा भादेशो भवति॥ देवेषा । गुरुएा । भजएा। दहिएा। सिरेए।। दूत्यादि(ई) ॥

TO SUTTRA I, 7. ON PAGE 5 .

 तीहिं ॥




 खरो० (ii, 4, याके घ्वरहंताया)। घनुखारो० (ii, 15 एमो बरहंताएँ)।। $\ddagger \mathrm{C}$ सिद्धाएं।
 (ii, 4) दूत्यनेन धा स्थाने दू भवति (क्इार्य)। वर्शावस्ष्षें क्वाला संयेगयस्येष्ट० (iii, 30
 15 बाद्दर्रियाएं) \| \|| C उवत्मायाएां उपाख्यायेम्यः। उपाध्राय । प्रथमम्द्य०० (iii, 12 एवंध्याघ)। वर्गाट्यु (iii, 5 उवाधाय)। तवर्ग्गस्य० (iii, 16 उवाभाय)। लोपे० (iii, 24). तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 उवाव्भाय)। ह्रस्वं० (ii, 3 उवड्ञाय)। खरो० (ii, 4 उवंड्राया)।
 वT $C$ नरोग लोके सर्ब्बसाधुय्यः ॥ ** C गुरुभिः। बद्रीभिः। युष्माभिः। कास्माभिः। द्वाभ्यों। निभि: ॥ $++C$ दोचिं। द्वि चम्रे क्या । द्विवयणे बंक्यवयां ( sic ) झें (ii, 12 द्व-भिस्)। वर्गांद्न० (iii, 5 दिभिस्)। खरो० (ii, 4 देासिस्)। चिं भिसः (i, 7 देाचिं)॥





89
SƯTRA I, 10a. ON PAGE 6.

दुस्ति विसि दुवे* दो वे । तिसि(?) । (२) एवं शसेTSपि ॥ TO SƯTRA I, 13. ON PAGE 7.
 भवति न तु एो ॥

TO SƯTRA I, 19. ON PAGE 9.
CD read the Sútra : तं तुं ${ }^{(8)}$ वंतु तुछं तुमं सौ सविभले: II
TO SƯTRA I, 20. ON PAGE 9.
$O D$ read the Sútra: अ्रमि तुए तुमं तं च ॥
TO SƯTRA I, 24. ON PAGE 10.
 SUTTRAS I, 25a, 25 ${ }^{\text {b }}$. ON PAGE 11.

युष्मद्: श्रामि परे तुम्हम् भ्रादेशो भचति। सविभते: ॥ तुम्हं चियो ते गुणा । युक्माकम् एव ते गुणा: ॥


 प्रत्यय षागतः (दुवा)। खरो॰ (ii, 4) दन्यनेन वेा दूत्यस्य हे भवति (दुवे)॥ $\dagger \mathrm{C}$ चिय। एवाषँ सद्धनिय-चेयाः (ii, 17) ॥ $\ddagger \mathrm{C}$ तद्ध ल्वयि सिदरूपं। बर्गादु (iii, 5 तचि)।

 दत्य ब्रनेन दकारस्यं बोपः (तुन्द)। एमि ङे: (i, 14 तुम्दभ्मि)॥
 the remark एवं कसेतुपि ll (३) D reads घ्घकारात्, om. किं; Com . the whole of this remark in the text, but adds it in the marginal gloss; $D$ gives it as part
 om. (c) Here follows sutra ii, 26 (see p. 21) in CD.

 (4) हंं मो एरोग(छ)। तेषा हैं विद्धेर। च्रंछ कयपणामेत*।

 मनुष्या: दूरस: ${ }^{(\text {( })}$ ।।

ग्रस्मद: श्रमि परे मम् ख्रादेशो भवति । षविभते:(^) ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां पस्य II

## 

 पस्य II

SU'TRA I, 31a. ON PAGE 12.






 ii, 27 (see p. 22) in © D.

TO SUTTRA II, 5. ON PAGE 15.




 मरिर्वो । मदृशः सरिमो। मदृत्त्: सरिच्छेग। एतादृघ: एभ्र्रारियो। भवादृशः भवर्वरिये।। यादृश: जारिये। तादृघ: तारियेग।
 जन्मादृ श: श्रम्हारियो। गुथादृघ: तुन्दारियो। द्रत्यादि। TO SU'TRA II, 9 . ON PAGE 16.
क区्या ॥ सौधं मउछें। मौनं मउलं। पौरुषं पजरिसं ॥
TO SƯTRA II, 11. ON PAGE 17.
र्मार० ॥ पडिवयाएंठं! यत् जं। तत् तं॥


#### Abstract

- C हषभः। खरा० (ii, 5) द्यवनेन ह्ट द्वत्यस्य बु (उषभः)। कगचन० (iii, 34) हत्यनेन वकार्स्य लोप:। उ स्थितं (उषभ:)। रश्षा० (iii, 18 उसभ:)। होग (iii, 13 उसच्छ) ।  विन्ठ०)। पवयेग्० (iii, 22 पिच्ह०)। प्रथम० (iii, 11 फिन्००)। पुनः प्रथम० (iii, 11       



 (o) D has again wrin the following forms, instead of प्य II (ㄷ) C places this


融。 I｜सिरायi＂｜｜ TO SƯTRA II，12．ON PAGE 17.
Commentary：सवारामां स्यादौनां त्यादीनां च द्विवचनं बज्ञ०॥ ＊＊＊॥｜ SUTTRAS II，13a， $13^{\text {b }}$ ．ON PAGE 17.

चतुरवंशंशतिश् अ्यपि जिनवरा：। चउवोसं वि जिएवरा वित्थयसा ${ }^{(8)}$ से पसौ烏तु ॥


> तेएं कालेएं तेएं समएणं। तस्मिन् काले तस्मिन् समर्ये(य) ॥ SU'TRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

स्डुता वर्एा：ङकारनकार्जकाराश् च पाह्दते न भवंति 11 स्लोक：।



तेत्रोस विंजाएदं सत्रीजोषा सरा ता़ा भरिया।



 संबाधधने（२२）॥ § C घ्यः द्रति विमर्जंनीयः।（३३）चकार चचारार्थः। कुमारौस्तनयुग्ला－
 （१））विसर्गो
（ $)$ ） Cm ．
（२） B रन्मा।
（₹） C om．， D दूपत् II．
（g）D तिच्चयरा॥
（y）See

 （११）C reverses आाछते संस्हते।（१२）See H，C．ii，203，199．（१₹）C खका， om：र॥＂（१४）C विसमुँ। यकिति०।．

TO SU'TRA II, 15. ON PAGE 18.
फली़िः ॥ कचिद् जर्द्वानुस्बारोऽपि भवति॥


SU'TRA II, 19. ON PAGE 19.

 TO SU'TRA II, 20. ON PAGE 20.


वन्तो मामत्त द्ताश्त्( $\left.{ }^{( }\right)$च यथा सच्य्यं द्या($\left.{ }^{( }\right)$समता: \|\& \|
भोभवान् सेगचिसों । विकार्वान् विन्रारू्नो । श्रद्धावान् सद्धाले। सेह्हान्
 हपुमत्तो। पुएवान् पुस्मतत्तो । मानवान् माएदूत्तो ${ }^{(\varpi)}$ । काव्यवान् कव्वद्त्तो $\mathrm{T}^{(\square)} \|$ तन्त्ववेडपि दूल्त एत्तौ ॥ गासे भव: गामिल्लो । पुरे भव: पुरिक्नो II अधे भव: । अधो हेट्ठ:(ल) । अध: स्थाने हेट्ठादेश्शो(ल) भवति ।
 SUTTRA II, 21. ON PAGE 20.

11 21. If ला लाव जा जावाष्ष लाचद्यावतो: || श? ||

* C संखारः ॥
(Q) C D om .
(९) D बं० ॥
(ß) Com .
(8) Creads वतोः स्याने दूल०, and
 (०) D inserts numbers after each suffix, thus द्नल्लश उल्लश, ete; C superscribes them, thus दूस्स संश्न, etc. (Б) D ०दूतोग ॥ (c) C हेठ:, हेठा०, हेठि०॥

तावच् कब्दम्य यावच् कब्द्स तु तातावौ जाजावौ भवतः ॥ गाथा। etc. TO SƯTRA II, 24. ON PAGE 21.
अवति II गाथा ।


TO SU'TRA II, 26. ON PAGE 21..
आघनात \| मे सुणु। त्वं श्ट्णु।
निशम्यत ॥ भे भलामि। तां भलामि ॥

 चुष्माकं देशः। भे एिह्हिदं ल्वयि निहितं। भे एिहिदं युय्मासु निहितं।।

TO SU'TRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.
आर्वति । भे भणामि। च्रहं भखामि ॥
SUTtras II, $27^{\circ}-27^{1}$. ON PAGE 22.






* C गुकलघुपदार्थानां नदुएमिएलं भवति सर्वषां। चुषितटषितानां मोख्घ जलपानं (नदु) च्रिमाल्यं (खलु)॥
 (y) See H. C. IL, 187. (§) Sec H. C. IV; 422, 19.






## डबडव चरियाए ॥


(y) मिन पिव विन ब्व व विश्र दूवार्थे वा भवंति ॥

 दोह्दा(₹)।

 sưTRA II, $29^{9}$.


* C भौषমं (भवति) विभातं || (दोधा)।


 दौंध मानं दर्ष्ं मा कुष। निद्रघा राचि्् गसिष्यति। द्डबड(१) खोष्र विभातं प्रभातं हैं द(९) (भर्वति)॥ $\dagger \mathrm{C}$ कालं (लब्हा आयाया:) घथा घथा मोफः गलति। तथा तथा दर्शंनं लमते (घावत् नियमेन) कात्यानं (मन्यते)॥
(१) C ट्डवड il ( P ) D एावयद्य (叉) See H. C. IV, 444. (g) C om. the com-





स्वरात् परस्य ज्रमंयुत्तस्य भ्रनादेग् नस्य भायो डो भर्वति॥ संहूननं। संह्डएं संघडए்ं संह्एएां।|

TO SU'TRA III, 3. ON PAGE 28.
 दुष्ट: दुट्टो ${ }^{(8)}$ । सुष्टः सुट्ठो ${ }^{(\text {() }}$ ॥

TO SU'TRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

 TO SUTTRA III, 9. ON PAGE 25.
अचरो ॥ भमरः भवरो भमरो भमलेा ॥
 स्ती थौ।।

$$
\text { SU'TRA III, } 11^{\text {² }} \text {. }
$$


वर्गंाएां ततीयचतुर्थयो: स्याने यथासंख्यं प्रथमद्वितोयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं एाकरं। मार्गए: मक्कलो । गिरितटं किरितटं। मेघ: मेखो । ख्याघ: वक्वो। घर्म: खम्मे। राजा राचा। जर्ज्जं चन्चरं। जीमूतः चीमूदो ${ }^{( }{ }^{\circ}$ ।
 डमरुक: टमरुको । गाढं काठं। षंढ: संठो ${ }^{(c)}$ । ढक्का ${ }^{\left(9^{\circ}\right)}$ ठक्का। मद्न: मतनेग( ${ }^{(ใ)}$ । कंदर्प: कंतथ्पो। दासेदरः तसेततरो। मधुरं मधुरं। बंधव: पंथवे ॥

 in C corrected to ट॥ (c) D संबो(?) ॥ (१$\left.{ }^{\circ}\right) \mathrm{D}$ दका(?)॥ (३१) So CD ; but $O$ has a marginal correction in pencil का त्राll

TO SU'TRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26.
 भरतः भरहेग। कातरः काहलेग। मार्तुलिंग:(घ) माह्जलिंगो । पापं पावं। पुच: बिद्टे।। पुनी बिद्टी ${ }^{(4)}$ ।

SƯTRA III, $15^{\text {a }}$. ON PAGE 27.

## 

पकारवकारयो: स्याने मकारेो वा भर्वति॥ भवर:(廿) सवरे समरो।
 पुरिमेт ॥

TO SƯTRA III, 16. ON PAGE 27.
 घंष्ष ॥ खिद्यते खिज्जए। रूदितं रूषं ॥

SƯTRA III, 17 ${ }^{\text {a }}$. ON PAGE 27.

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारे। भर्वति॥ व्युत्ट्टजामि वोसरामि। व्युत्टजति वेामरद्र ॥ चष्टि: लह्ठी $\left.{ }^{( }\right)$। चष्टिका लद्विज्ता ${ }^{(e)} \|$

TO SUTTRA III, 19. ON PAGE 28.
नालं ।| राजा राएा। क्राज्ञा क्गएणा ॥
TO SUTTRA III, 20. ON PAGE 28.
कर्नि $11\left(3^{\circ}\right)$ करोरः कलीरे। करेति कुएद्य ॥ क्ञाख्झो ॥ भगिली। वहिनी भद्रली ॥

 om. this example.

TO SU'TRA III, 21. ON PAGE 28 ,
 कोडति कोलद्य ${ }^{(y)}$ । स्फटिक: फलिहे। ।

SUTRAS III, 22, 22a. ON PAGE 28.

पवयेग् व्यत्मासेर भवति॥ पापं पावं॥

पय्यंक: । etc.
TO SU'TRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.


TO SƯTRA III, 30. ON PAGE 31.
अर्संसं। श्री सिरी। ह्रो: ( ${ }^{\circ}$ हिरी। जर्हत् क्रहंतो। भाचार्ये: भाय-


पहुम्य 11 तन्वी तएुवी। लघ्वी लजवी। गुवों गुरुवी। पृथ्वी पुह्ववी।

 जना: सुवे जएा। ज्या जीञ्रा॥

T0 SUTTRA III, 31. ON PAGE 31.





## SU'TRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.


खरात् परेषां भ्रनादिभूतानां ज्र्रमंयुतानां कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुग्



 पुनः उलो(ङ)। गंधं श्र्रंधं। च श्र। वृषभ: उसहेत्रा॥ च्रमंयुक्तस्येति किं॥
 नमस्कार्: एामेयारे। एवयारे ${ }^{\left({ }^{(\imath १)}\right)} \|$ प्रायो गह्एात् क्वचिन् न भवति ॥
 जलं। पयुनं पजुन्तं (ใ4)। विप्रयेगग: विप्पजेतन्रो ॥

SU'TRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुकि मति ఖेषे $T S$ बर्सी $T S$ वस्सपरे। यत्वं स्यापद्यते।। TO SU'TRA III, 36. ON PAGE 32.

TO SU'TRA III, 39. ON PAGE 33.

(१) See H. C. I, 177. (२) D adds numbers, thus क २, ग २, etc. (₹) D काष, and adds the following examples केतिकला कोद्यला। काकौ कार्द्र। प्रतिकूलः पडि-

 नछ्घकारः॥ (々२) CD स०॥ (२,३) C ग्राप: (modern Hindí साप्). (२४, C सकुष्मं ॥
 D \{मष॥

## गाथा( ${ }^{(9)}$ ।

 वीलजिएो पक्खालदु मम ${ }^{(4)}$ आयलम् श्रवं्जजंवालं*॥ \& ॥ SUTTRA III, 39a. ON PAGE 33.


## कयं। (${ }^{\circ}$ गदं गयं। सुदं सुण्रं। दूत्यादि ॥

॥ स्सेक: (ढ) ॥
संसृतंत्राक्रतं चैउप्रम्रंशोडथ पिशाचिकी। मागधी (c) शौर सेनी च षड्भाषाश् च पकीर्त्तिताः 11 ?॥

* Ed. रभस-वश्नघ-मुर-किर-विगलित-संदार-राजितार्शि-चुगः।

बोरजिनः प्रच्चालयतु मस सक्लम् ववद्य-बंबालं।। ? ॥I
(१) C om. (P) D च्लश, O originally हलग, but corrected into लहा ; also $O D$ नसमष्ष, but in E. C. IV, 288 नमिस; also D विन्चविद्ध (ह) $D$ भुगे ॥ (8) $O D$ सघलक् ॥ (y) CD give no sútra for this commentary; but add it as if it were part of sútra* 39. (द) D prefixes ताq: (sic) ; see H. C. IV, 262. (o) CD read पदं पयं ॥ (Б) 0 om. (e) CD सै०॥

## APPENDIX B C D．

## TO SƯTRA I，3．ON PAGE 3.

 रकख ${ }^{(P)}$ नो ${ }^{(8)}$ न：।।
ङसि ॥（\％）तस्सा तिस्मा（ई）॥

 म冨（？${ }^{\text {（१）}} 1$

TO SUTRA II，4．ON PAGE 15.
 （२8）वर्वन्मि वेन्मि（ ${ }^{(3)}$ ॥


＊ B ब्रुषे ॥ C नयनविह्छोनं मुखं॥
（१） OD तुब्भे॥
（२） B रक्वओोग ॥
（इ） D ख्चस्ष्म ॥
（8）C D ऐो II
（y） B तस्सा：॥ （६） B ताद्घ ； D adds घस्या：जस्ता जिस्ता। कस्याः करता किसता；and $C \mathrm{D}$ add गिरियो

 तस्भिन् ；the whole reading in $B$ is confused तस्य। तस्मिन्। तन। तक्भि（or तन्मि ？）।
 तद्र सद्रो（८8）B om．this example（see iii，32．ii，15）．（q4）B om．Skr．transla－ tion，but see the marginal gloss．（々६）D बु०॥（々७）D repeats चेत्मि॥（々弓）B संगिच्द्ध॥（ใく）B कादु， D कद्ध（see ii，19）．（pa）B बदूनं वङ्जमुचं ॥（२९）So B； C


TO SƯTRA III，3．ON PAGE 24．
भक्बर्रो। क：करोति के कर्द्य क：पचति के पयद्न ${ }^{(9)} ॥$
TO SU＇TRA III，6．ON PAGE 24.
अच्छी \｜ $\mathrm{CD} \|$ ग्रात्मा भप्पा। तौत्तां तिएँ（ $\left.{ }^{( }\right) \|$
TO SUTTRA III，23．ON PAGE 29.

TO SUTTRA III，24．ON PAGE 29.
दुग्गा ॥ शक्र：सक्को ${ }^{(\text {．}}$ । तस्करः तक्करो।।
TO SUTTRA III，27．ON PAGE 30.
भ्रन्येषाम् उन्नविशेषाएां द्वि० स एव भ०॥ श्र० श्र०। स्वर्ग सग्गं। स० स०। दुर्जन：दुज्जएो। नाब्य：（८）नट्टा $\left({ }^{\left.()^{\circ}\right)}\right.$ । भुतां भुत्तं। धान्य धन्नं（११）। सर्प：सप्पो । श्डूल्वं（१）सुलं। काव्यं कब्वं। गस्यं सस्सं（१₹）॥

TO SUTTRA III，35．ON PAGE 32.
नाया II पिशाचा：पिसाया। $\left.{ }^{(8)}{ }^{8}\right)$ वनराजा वराराया। माता माया ${ }^{(94)}$ ।

 भुग्रणं। कचिद् भः्त्य् एव ॥ पित्रति（२）पियद्य॥
$\begin{array}{lll}\text {（१）} \mathrm{B} \text { पचद्ध or पचद् ？॥ } & \text {（p）} \mathrm{B} \text { तौशहं ॥ } & \text {（३）A also has this example，see }\end{array}$ note $\uparrow २, \mathrm{p} .29$ ；A C D place it before त्रण्णा（see p．29），but $B$ after जम्दा II （y）A कन्ही（see note शp，p．29）．（y）CD ग्रौस्मा II（द）CD place this

 सुक्र； OD शुक्षं सुं ॥（१₹） B श्रसं ॥（१४）． B om．this example．（१थ） B adds
 घर्वर्चतं）；then follows पिता，then साता，then शारद्र॥（々०）B देयाः॥（々弓） $B$ places this among the regular examples，sce footnoto p\＆．（RC）D qिया II （р०） Bom ，the remainder，（ p ） C om．

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बसरा CD, ii, 20.
[मfास्सा $i, 21$.]
भयुस्सा C D , $i, 26^{\text {b }}$. [मायुस्सा $i, 21$.]
मतनो $C \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{iii}, 11^{\mathrm{a}}$.

- मन्त CD, ii, 20.

मत्ञा i, 1. [CD, i, 1. (declined)]
मथुरं CD , iii, 11.
अदुवो C D, iii, 30.
$\circ$ मंदाल० O D, iii, 39 .
मधुरा iii, 11.
मनुस्सा (nom, pl.) i, 21. मनुसे (acc. pl.)
सद्कवि $\mathrm{C}, \mathrm{i}, 1 \mathrm{l}^{\mathrm{a}}$.
मसानं iii, 23.
मन्ह (मख) ii, 1.
महंति $\mathrm{C} \mathrm{i}, 11^{\mathrm{a}}$.
महते iii, 13.
मझ $i, 3$. मझं $i, 3$. मङरा $[i, 3$.$] O D. i$,

[मा C D, ii, 278.] .

- मा CD, ii, 20.

मापाद्रों C D, ii, 20.
[माएँ $O D, \mathrm{ii}, 27^{\circ}$.]
माया B C D, iii, 35 .
भाला (nom. pl.) $i, 10$. माबाब्चि $i, 10$. का-
लाख $i, 10$. मालातु $i, 3$. [मालाषुं $i, 3$.
सार्ञलंगो $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{iii}, 12$.
मिव $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{ii}, 27_{\mathrm{i}}$.
मुक्बे iii, 9.
मुज्ञाते iii, 1.
कुरिस्स i, 13. नुलिखों (gen. sg.) $i, 13$.
मुरिएा (acc. pl.) i, 12.
मणेंदू $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{ii}, 27^{1}$.
[नुष्ष iii. 3.]

- मुस्षं C D, ii, 24 .

नुँ̄ं ii, 22. iii, [11.] 13. B C D, ii, 4., ॰ नुणं C D, iii, 21.
[मनलवसा C D, ii, 14.]
केखा CD, iii, $11^{\text {a }}$.
मेशे $\mathrm{OD}, \mathrm{iii}, 39$.
से हो iii, 13.
कोरों $\mathrm{ii}, 1$.
सेत्ड $C \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 27^{1}$.
य।
[य (च) ii, 21. C D, ii, 14.]

- यर० (कर ray) CD, i, 1.
- यरा (करा maker) C D, ii, $13^{a}$.


## $₹ 1$

₹CD, ii, $27^{7}$.
रए B iii, 34 .
रक्बतु i, 3. रक्बंतु i, 4. रक्वज BCD, i, 3.
रंशं iii, 3.
[रत्ञडी C D, ii, 278.]
रतएं iii, 30.
राई़ iii, 34 .
राचा C D, iii, $11^{\text {a }}$.
राएा $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{iii}, 19$.
सिखं ii, 5.

रिपु i, 3. [रिबुं i, 3.] रिपुदिं i, 3. रिकाएं B, iii, 34 .
रिसहेग C D, ii, 5.
रक्बो iii, 22.
वसं C D, iii, 16.
रूपं $\mathrm{i}, 13.17$. ०रूपे (nom. sg.) ii, 10.
ल।
लक्वरो iii, 6.
०ल्लक्वसा iii, 38.
लच्छी iii, 6. 36.
बद्विया C D, iii, $17^{\text {an }}$.
लढ्दी $\mathrm{CD} \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{iii}, 17^{\mathrm{a}}$.
लहद्य $O \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 27^{1}$. लहेविपु $\mathrm{C} \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 27^{1}$.
लन्दा० C D, iii, 39.
०लङन्झ० $\mathrm{C} D, \mathrm{ii}, 24$. लङचो $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{iii}, 30$,
बहीसंखं (हर्षितं)ं i, 1.

- लाजिद्• CD, iii, 39.

लिब्जांत (लीयंतो) $i i, 21$.
लाब्चस्स $\mathrm{BCD}, \mathrm{iii}, 35$. लोप $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{i}, 5$.

## व।

व ii, 22. C D, ii, $27^{\text {i }}$.
[वद्र (ने) ii, 7.]
वति (द्धना) B C D, ii, 10.
बद्ररं (वेंरं) ii, 7.
[वद्धं (वख्रं) iii, 30.]
वक्खे (व्याघ्रः) C D, iii, $11^{\text {a }}$.
[वक्बो (टचचः) iii, 4i]
[वर्गा iii, 3.] ०वम्गे D, iii, $1^{1}$.
वग्घो iii, 24.
वच्छेग $\mathrm{iii}, 4$.
वब्ज (व्रज) $\mathrm{C} \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{I}$.
वज्जं (वज्मं) iii, 9.
[वज्जरें ii, 15.]
वज्कों iii, 20.
वैभा iii, 16.
वंटकमु $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{i}, 1$.
वध्दमायो CD , iii, 16.
वरारार्द [iii, 34.] B, iii, 34, वएाराल B iii, 34.

वएाराया B C D, iii, 35 .
[०व्या C D, ii, 14.]

- पत्ता C D, ii, 20.

यंतं iii, 9 .
व वंद्तितो ii, 1. बंदिकु ii, 10. बंदिका ii,
19. वंद्क्शे ii, 19. वंदति [ii, 19.] C D,
ii, 19. बं दे प्विया C D, ii, 19.
वजभाने iii, 26 .
वन्द्हि iii, 23.
वंभएँ ii, 10. वंभएा ii, 12. 15. वंभयो (acc.
pl.) i, 15.
[वंभा iii, 3.]
वम्दा iii, 3.
वम्मथा iii, 3. 21.
वयं i, 3 .
-वयरो $\mathrm{C} \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{i}, 1$.
वरनु iii, 37.

- वरा CD, ii, $13^{\text {a }}$.

वरिसं iii, 30 .
वस्नमुंत् $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{iii}, 21$.
-वश्र० C D, iii, 39.
वसह्छी C D, iii, 12.
वस हो iii, 13. C D, ii, 5.
बहप्पई्द OD, ii, 5.
वह्ठप्रा्द्र CD, ii, 5.
वहस्सर्द C $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 5$.
बहिनो C D, iii, 20.
वह्न (वधू) i, 3. ii, 10. वह्लए i, 9 .
बाजलो $\mathrm{B}, \mathrm{iii}, 34$.
वाछें B , iii, 34. काएएा $\mathrm{B}, \mathrm{iii}, 34$.
वाघ्रे iii, 37.
वारं $\mathrm{iii}, 7$.
[वार्खा C D, ii, 27\%.]
वfिज्जते iii, 25.
वि $[\mathrm{ii}, 6,19] \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii},. 1^{\circ} . \mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{i}, 1 . \mathrm{CD}$, [०वि ii, 19.]
$\left[i i, 13^{n}\right.$.
विवर्चलिद्० C D, iii, 39.
विसारुस्ले C D, ii, 20.
विच्चिन्मii, 21.
विंचुर्दे ii, 15.
[विंजएादं C D, ii, 14]
विन्जा iii, 16.
विज्नुयों $i, 4$.
विउम्कते iii, 11.
बिहे $C D$, iii, 12. विद्टी $C D, i i i, 12$.
विस्दा (ट्टस्ष) C $D, i, 26^{a}$.
विस्दं (विधु) iii, 5.
विप्पष्याख्छा B, iii, 34. विप्पजित्रिं CD, iii. 84.
विळ्भमे iii, 9.
विब्मले iii, 1.
विय ii, 22 , विष्य C D, ii, $27^{i}$.
विक्ष iii, 2.
विव ii, 22. CD, ii, $27^{\text {i }}$.
विसलेसे iii, 30 .
विद्यु C D, iii, 12.
विन्दप्पर्द्र CD, ii, 5.
विछ्द्रार्द CD, ii, 5.
विद्युक्त CD, ii, 5.
विद्धायु C D, ij. 278 .

- विद्षन B C D, ii, 4.

वौसजिए $[\mathrm{ii}, 10]$.CD , iii, 39.
बोसा iii, $82.0 \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 15 . \mathrm{BCD}, \mathrm{ii}, 4$.

बुर्च्रेiii, 12. नुच्ं B CD, ii, 4.
वुद्हो ii, 5. iii, 26. C D, iii, 16 .
बुद्पप्पर्द CD, ii, 5.
चुछ्दप्फर्द C D, ii, 5.
नुहस्सर्ई C D, ii, 5.
वे $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{i}, 10^{\mathrm{a}}$. विषि C$\left.]\right), \mathrm{i}, 10^{\text {a }}$. बेनचं C
$D, i, 7$. [नेचि C D, i, 7. बेनही CD, i, 7.] बेंचितेT $C D, i, 3$. वेष्चं $C D, i, 6$.

बेक्षुं, $C D, i, 3$. वेसु $C D, i .3$.
चेंटं ii, 5.
चेतह्ट़ो ii, 6.
बेंटुलियो iii, 22. 30.
[०वेप्पिएु ii, 19.]
बेक्मि iii. 3. $C D, ~ i i i, ~ 6, ~ B C D, ~ i i, ~ 4, ~$
बें $\mathrm{ii}, 6$.
वेशिवम्ग $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 1^{10}$.
बेसवरों iii, 29.

चो BCDi 3 .

बेंसरामि $\mathrm{OD}, \mathrm{iii}, 17^{\mathrm{a}}$.
ख ii, 22. CD, ii, $27^{1}$.

## पा

क्यं $\mathrm{CD} \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{iii}, 39$.

- fिल्ल C D, iii, 39.

गुल० C D, iii, 39 .
शेशे $\mathrm{iii}, 39$.
स।

- (nom, sg.) ii, 1. 10,17. सा ii, 1. से C D, i, $26^{a}$. ते (gen.) i, 17.
सज्यो $\mathrm{B}, \mathrm{iii}, 34$.
बजरो ii, 9 .
स हं $\mathrm{O} \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 9$.
सकतं $\mathrm{ii}, 15$.
सकारे CD, $\mathrm{ii}, \mathrm{I} 5$.
स कौसाएा ii, 1.
स敢T iii, 5. B C D, iii, 24.
संखे ii, 22.
सम्गं iii, 2. 9. B O D, iii, 27.
संगिएह्द्य $\mathrm{BCD}, \mathrm{ii}, 4$.
संगे ii, 15.
संघड यां C D, ii, $29^{a}$.
सचं iii, 27.
सभ्जिन्जद्र $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{i}, 1$.
सजमों iii, 26.
संठो C D, iii, 11".
स त्रवीसा [C D, ii, 14.] सत्रवौसं CD, $\mathrm{i}, 1$.
सन्त्र iii, 9.
सत्रो iii, 3 .
सद्छो $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{i}, 1$.
सबालो $C D, i i, 20$.
सभ्यो iii, 9. B C D, iii, 27.
सब्भाबं iii, 3.
समएपां $O \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 13^{\mathrm{b}}$.
समरो $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{iii}, 15^{\text {a }}$.
समिद्ध ii, 15.
सम्मं $O D, i i, 11$.

सं iii, 2.
[ सरा C D, ii, 14.]
सरिच्रे C D, ii, 5.
सरिताएं i, 5. ii, 11. सरिताषं i, 5 .
सरिरबे C D, ii, 5.
सरिव्या $O D, \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 5$.
सरिसपे iii, 30 .
सरिमें C D, ii, 5.
संक्षं $\mathrm{u} i \mathrm{i}, 2$.
सवरों CD, iii, 15.
सवर्दो © D, iii, 34.
संवच्छरो iii, 4.
सब्व० C D, i, 5. [सब्बे (nom. pl) ii, 19.]
सब्वेनें C D, ii, 24.
सब्वबा OD, iii, 6.
ससी iii, 18.
सस्मं iii, 2. BCD; iii $_{2}$ 27.

- सह्डएां C D, i, 5 .

संचडां C D, ii, $29^{2}$.
संहायां CD, ii, $29^{a}$.
साघर ii, 22.
[सारया B © D, iiii, 35.]
सावे $\mathrm{C} \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{iii}, 34$.
साहिज्जंतं ii, 25. सारिज्जमानं $\mathrm{A}, \mathrm{ii}, 25$. साच्चिय्यंनं A, ii, 25.
सि (चसि) ii, 18.
सिं [B, iii, 34.] C D, iii, 34.
सिझावां्यो OD, iii, 30.
सिग्धा ii, 3. iii, 9.
सितं iii, 5.
सिब्बेचिंतो i, 8. सिद्धाएयं C D, i, 5.
सिख्भा iii, 2.
सिसिएा C D, iii, $15^{\circ}$.
सिया CD D, iii, 30 .
सिरेषा $O, B, i, 6^{a}$, सिरेषां ii, 11. सिएाएं CD, ii, 11.
सिरो C D, iii, 30.
सिविएँा C D, iii, $15^{\text {. }}$.
सिच्दा $\mathrm{i}, 13$.
सीलं $\mathrm{i}, 25.30$.

सीसं ii, 11. iii, 18. बीसो iii, 29,
सहलं ij, 4
सुर्ं B, iii, 34.
-ुर्द $B, i i i, 34$.
उन्नसम C D, $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{iii}, 34$.
एक्बं iii, 5. 26.
अुन्जो ii, 3. iii, 9. 15.
च्डाँ $\mathrm{O} D$, iii, 3 .
सुष्यु $C D, i i, 26$. सुचा $i i, 19$. सुम्मए $C D$, i, 1. छुतं iii, 2.9. छुदं $\mathrm{OD}, \mathrm{iii}, 39^{9}$. सुखं CD, iii, 39̆. सोतब्बं iii, 2 .
हर० ii, 21.
हरं $\mathrm{B} \mathrm{OD}, \mathrm{ii}, 27$.
जुबसं $\mathrm{iii}, 9$.
से (च्व:) CD, iii, 30.
(ुचे (ब) $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{iii}, 80$.


[चुछम iii, 30.]
चुछमं iii, 30 .
छरियेत $i i i, 30.36$.
सरेग i, 1. 24. 28. 29. it, 18. ${ }^{\circ} \mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{ii}, 26$.
स्वरा i, 21. O D, i, $26^{\text {b }}$.
मेंघबं ii, 6.
सेल्लां ii, 21.

हे चस्त ii, 22 .
सोवचल्लं ii, 8 .
सेगेता i, 1.
मेन्लस iii, 21.
[सेनछं ii, 8.]
चारेंते $\mathrm{CD}, \mathrm{ii}, 12$.
सोचिलित $C D$, ii, 20.
सोहां $\mathrm{i}, 13$.
नाष्थरिं $\mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 14$.
$\bar{\square}$
हं CD $\mathrm{i}, 26^{\mathrm{a}}$.
चखं O D, $\mathrm{i}, 26{ }^{\text {a }}$.
इस्सारो D, ii, 14.
हणुमत्तो $0 \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{ii}, 20$.
हएलुमा CD, ii, 20 .
दत्या ii, 12.
[हरिपा i, 3.]
हुवति iii, 39. होति iii, 31. होट्दू C D, i,

1. C D, ii, $27^{8}$, एवेद्र C D, ii, 24 .

हंश iii, 39.
चस्से iii, 9.
[हिन्नए iii, 11.]
रिते $\mathrm{ii}, 1$.
हिती 0 D, iii, 30 .
हरहिलो C D, ii, 20.


On page 9 in footnote (२₹) insert: B सनुस्सा, and on page 53, in footnote (y) insert: $C D$ prefix देवात् देवा, and in footnote (c) insert: $C D$ prefix देवे देवक्मि ॥

"A book that is shut is but a block"


GOVI OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.



[^0]:    * It is not impossible, however, that the introductory verse is to be ascribed to the Revisionists, to whom most of the other Jaina indications are due ; e.g., the invocation of the "Siddhas at the beginning of the work, and the same in sutura I, 5. The mere fact of Ohanda treating of an old form of Prákrit, which was afterwards modified by the Jainas, đoes not riecemsaxily prove any connection of Chanda with the lattor.
    † See alloo Pisçhel Dissertatio incugguralis, p. 4. According to Weber, Indisehe Streifen
    

[^1]:    * Hemachandra has a similar rule in III, 130, but his grammatical terminology is different (durivachanasya bahzorachanam) and seoms to havo been taken fan Vararuchia VI, 63.

[^2]:    －The former are to he soen in Weber＇s Bladawati，Plate I，lines 6 and 8 （duolekhasionn）
    

[^3]:    * Por a possible reason of this oircumstance, see below p. xxiv.

[^4]:    - Wo other division of the consonants, so far as these sútras are concerned, is recog nised, it makee zo difference, whether the oonjunct or single oonsonant is medial or initial; or whether the single consonant is one which was originally single or has orily become so as the resalt of the simplifieation of conjunct consonant.

[^5]:    * It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दस and सेसे are here introduoed by a silent reference to sutra M, 18. Such "silent raferences" ocour in all Prakrite Grammanisus: As an instance from Hemachandra, I may pention his súptra I, 25e, where he rules that the $v$ of svapna becomes $m$; but in reefity the $p$ of svapna, having become vi by silent reference to sútra $I, 231$, becomes in. That the $p$, not the $v$, of svapna is referred to in $I, 259$, may be seen by comparing the siftras I, 46 and II, 108.
    + Whe whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sutra IIX, 23 , but though that sútra is in the seoond part, the sibilants are referrod to there, not as single consonants, but as
    妾 8

[^6]:    * The only two Prákrit Grammarians, who, to my knowledge, use a sanjiña or sign for tho sibilant class are 'Crivikrama and Subhachandra. Tho formor uscs ws su (T, V.

[^7]:    of those who handed down the sútras by oral tradition or writing to substitute current idioms for antiquatod forms," see also ididem, pp. 19, 20, also pp. 15, 16, 17.

[^8]:    * Once or twico also $\overline{\text { a }}$ and म्म; those aro clearly only due to carcless writing.

[^9]:    * The close xesomblance of the symbol for $m b / 4$ to those for $b b h$ and $\ddot{j} h$ is strikingly shown in satra IIT, 2, whore C appeurs to ruad sijphá and D siblhá for simbhá.

[^10]:    * Hemachandra's words are: yad api "pordnam addhamágahabhásániyayam havaî suttam" ity ádináárshasya árdhamágadhabháshániyatatvam ámnáyi vṛdahais tad api prayo "sya eva vidhánát, na valeshyamanalaleshanasya; i. e., "What has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Arddhamagadhí, that may be also understood of the present rule (viz. H. O. 4, 287), but of that rule only, not of the succeeding ones." Jacobi's interpretation of this important passage, if I understand it rightly, somewhat differs from mine; though the general tenor is the same. (See Kalpa Sítra; p. 17.) I do not think Jacobi has quite caught Hemachandra's meaning. Hemachandra does not wish to contradict the old tradition, but only guard his own grammar against a wrong interpretation of it. "Rightly undorstood", he means to say, "the old tradition confirms my grammar, for it refers only to the first rule, not to the whole of my chapter on. Mágadhi."
    + As a minor evidence of Ohanda's Prákrit being the Arrsha, I may mention the

[^11]:    $\dagger$ The italics in the extract are mine.

[^12]:    * Professor Jacobi, in the introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa Sjefra, mentions another sign of the old vemacular, which appears to be borne out by Chanḍa's grammar. "A trace of a still older phase of the language (than Jaina Prékrit) is the optional insertion of a rowel between two consonants incapable of assimilation" (see p. 19, also p. 4). This seems to be indicated by Chandea's sátra III, 30.
    + With regard to the other peculiarity of substituting the palatal s for the dental $s$, the Inscriptions seem to give no evidence; except one of th.em at Rámagarh, which has $s$ throughout.
    $\ddagger$ This map is based on the frontispicce-maps in Genoral Cunningham's Anoient Geography of Indiat Vol, I, and his Corpus Inseriptionam Indiarrum, Vol. I.

[^13]:    * Ydam-tador ániápi se ddesam kaschid ichehhati, H. O. III, 81.
    $\dagger$ Tadidaunoh̨ se si九ashtht-rúpánám, Oh. I, 17.

[^14]:    * A similar acoidental omission of sútra I, 15 has occurrod in the caso of MSS. B.

[^15]:    * Hemachandra montions this vory word in an Ársha sentence, devindo inama abbavi sec II. C. III, 162.

[^16]:    * It is one of the clumsy inconsistencies of the Revisionists of CD that they insert the word sapta "seven" in the commentary to sútra I, 3. Chanḍ̆ had very properly omitted it, as sítra II, 13 shows that Prákrit has only six casos.

[^17]:    * Or abll = abl. masco, exc. the forms in á and áhi, see H. O. III, 126, 127.

[^18]:    * Not $=$ Skr. pation, as, O D have it, but $=$ Skr. vritin.

[^19]:    * Perhaps no great stress can be laid on the fact that in MS. D the short $i$ and $u$ occur three times; viz. buddhihim, guruhim in I, 3 and gurvihinto in I, 8. They may be mere clerical orrors.

[^20]:    * It is well known, that native Grammarians, when treating of "persons" or "personal" pronouns do not commence, as we do, with the first person and then proceed. to the second and third; but they begin at the other end. Hence with thom the socond personal pronoun always precedes the first. Hence the changa in D to toám tam, mám mam,

[^21]:    * I suspect that there is here some corruption in the text. The suffix is perhaps iya (as in Páli). MiS. A reads the example vandiva (not vandio); similarly A reads iva in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is iya. Hence the correct roading in II, 19 may be vandiya, and accordingly the suffix iya (not o).

[^22]:    * The treatment of this oase requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chaņ̣a was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prákrit instr. plur, suftix thi is really the same as the Skr. bhis (or bhih), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prákrit (i. e., by the rules III, 13. II, 10, 11). Accordingly there wounld have boen no need of any special sútra ( $I, 7$ ), teaching the formation of the Prák. instr. plür., if only Sanskrit had used the suffix bhis with every kind of base; but unfortunately Sanskrit does not use blis, but ais, with masc. bases in $a$. It, therefore, became necessary for Chanda to formulate a special sútra to meet the exceptional case of these maso. $\alpha$-bases. Fiere came the dilemma. If he had made a special sútra (after the analogy of $\mathrm{I}, 15,16$ ) for masc. a-bases alone (say, hi bhiso'tah), this, by its terms, would have denied the suffix hi to all other bases; which would have been manifestly wrong. If, on the other hand, he made a special sútra for all bascs, this would seem to imply that the suffix $\pi i$ is altogether Prákritic (like the abl. plur. suffix hinto I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (samskritavad vibhakti) and ought to be set down undor sútra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chanda did, was this: in order to indicato the Sanskritic character of the suffix $h i$, ho mentioned it under sútra $I$, 3, but excluded

[^23]:    exampleš of masc. a-bases; next to meet the exceptional case of the latter bases, he formulated a speoial stitra (I, 7) in general terms (hi bhisah), but excluded examples of any base save those of masc. $a$-bases. In either case, therefore, he uses the examples which he gives to define the exact range of the terms of the sútra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sitra, is a favorite one with Ohanda. Another striking example (regarding the gen. and loc. sing.) will be noticed farther on in the text.

    * The limitation of sútra $\mathrm{I}, 12$ is also indicated by the existence of suitra $\mathrm{I}, 16$. In fact, there are two sets of sútras, vise, $I, 11,12$ and $I, 15,16$, both being on the acc. plur. and abl. sing. Of these the latter set, viz. I, 15, 16, being limited, by its very terms, to $a$-bases, shows that the former set must be limited to bases in $i$ and $u$. There are, thus two sútras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in $i$ and $u$ only; next two sútras $\mathrm{I}, 13,14$ referring, partially, to both $a$-bases and i- and $\psi$-bases; lastly two sútras $I_{3} 15,16$ referring to $a$-bases only.

[^24]:    * There can be no doubt that the forms aggie, gurue (or aggie, gurwe sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtiess Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sátra. For the forms have no support either from Páli or from Prákrit; indeed Hemachandra and Vararuchi expressly forbid them in their rules (H. O. III, 128. Vr. VI, 6I), which would almost seem to have had in view these forgeries of the Revisionists. Of course, the forms aggie, gurue are simply the regular Prákrit forms for the Sanskrit locatives agnike, gurrike, containing the pleonastic suffix ka. Nor can it be doubtful that the example devassa soha is only by some mischance omitted in MSS. A and B. For the gen. sing. of $a$-bases is not mentioned in I, 3 (by any of the four MSS.) where one might expect it, as it is a Sanskritic form ; and if it were also omitted in $I, 13$, there would be no notice of it in the grammar at all. That, in suck an important form as the gen. sing. of $a$-bases in ssa, would be simply incredible. Hence the reading of MSS. O D, in this respect, must be correct. But the stupid remark ohaladragrahandt, etc., of course, is altogether the Revisionists' own contribution. It was their way of solving the difficulty which I have explained in the text. 'Thoy either did not understand Chandaa's method, or thought it not explicit enough. But their solution makes it no better, involving as it does a most fanciful use of the term oha.

[^25]:    * The rule, apparently, only applies to compound words, as shown by the examples.

